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THE
PUBLIC CHARACTERS
OF
EUROPE;

COMPRISING
MEMOIRS
OF ALL
THE EMINENT MEN,
NOW LIVING,

WHO HAVE PERFORMED CONSPICUOUS PARTS IN THE POLITICAL
TRANSACTIONS OF THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS;

—
BY FRANCIS GIBBON, ESQ.
—

Embellished with Portraits
OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES.

VOL. I.

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AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM.

PREFACE.

It might be unnecessary to preface this Work by any observations on the obvious utility of Contemporary Biography, if the extraordinary events of the particular period to which our Memoirs are limited, did not give a character to them more important, perhaps, than ever yet employed the pen of the Historian.

The French revolution forms an æra in the political history of the world, unparalleled for the magnitude of its events, for the talent it brought forward, and for its moral effects. But the circumstance the most interesting in the history is, that it has been complete; we have seen its commencement and its end, and have in our present view a great proportion of the principal actors, who have survived to obtain from their contemporaries the honourable meed of well-deserved praise, or the penalty of public censure.

It will not be opinion or prejudice, which, in the following pages, delineates the character of the eminent personages recorded: their *actions* only will

will be produced, the *principles* which influenced them, and their *consequences*; affording a more useful lesson than ever yet could be given, to teach the great *moderation in prosperity*, and the multitude the value of *subordination* and *legitimate government*. It will be the principal object of this Work to discover to the Public that those characters only are entitled to the epithet GREAT, to which we can also attach the epithet GOOD.

In the actions of great men we find the most powerful incitement to exertion; and in their success or failure, the most impressive example. It is the consequences of these actions which develop the principles that alone give them character. Even the *éclat* which the conqueror, for the moment, acquires in the splendour of his victorious career, vanishes as his views are discovered.

We presume, that we shall be performing a valuable service to the Public, in collecting together in one Work the Memoirs of the Living Public Characters who have performed great parts in the interesting drama just concluded. Our Work will be like a fine painting, more perfect for having a due proportion of light and shade, of strong and delicate touches, and infinite variety of character. If in our back-ground we are obliged to insert the darkness of the passing storm, our middle distance will be cheered by the dawn of better days, and the fore-ground of our picture illuminated by the
glory

glory of the great men who have achieved the deliverance of Europe.

Upon the following pages will be found examples of Christian fortitude and patience under the most cruel persecution, rewarded by a complete restoration to happiness ; of violence and unlawful force triumphing, for a time, over all that is great and good, but at length suffering the inevitable penalty due to vice ; of the weakness and folly of human ambition, which, like an *ignis fatuus*, leads but to destruction ; of the wonderful dispensations of Providence, which seems to use even the agency of evil to effect good ; of a base selfishness, which, in grasping at every thing, loses all ; and of a magnanimous greatness, which in forbearance becomes more great.

We have already said, that in the delineation of our characters no opinion will be offered upon their merits or demerits, suggested by any sort of prejudice or partiality, it will solely be our endeavour to state the facts which develop the principles of actions. We shall, therefore, have frequent occasion to expose the fallacy of human policy, and particularly the short-sightedness of that which is founded on the notion of *expediency*.

We are in the situation of those who stand by, attentively viewing the progress of the game, and watching the skilful movements of the player. The principles of the game are those of *right* and
wrong

wrong, which all the world acknowledge ; and the stake played for, *the peace and happiness of the universe*.

The deliverance of Europe has been as much effected, under Divine Providence, through the mistaken policy of the conquered, as by the honourable perseverance of the conquerors. The conduct of each will afford to posterity the most valuable lesson. It will be shewn in these Memoirs, that no human power, however great—no human ability, however superior—is competent to give perpetuity to systems founded upon unjust principles. It will indeed be a matter of surprise, that the tyrant could, in these latter ages, reign so long ; and that there should be such a deficiency of public virtue among a people so enlightened, and so advanced in every mental attainment. It will serve to prove, that high degrees of civilization may yet involve a demoralizing principle when the religious character suffers any diminution of respect. It is a state at which it may be a misfortune to arrive, and which it is the duty of the legislator to provide against.

The Greeks had reached the *acmé* of perfection in every art, useful or ornamental ; they had become possessed of all the stores of human wisdom ; when they found their public virtue lost, and their country an easy prey to the invader. Of the Pagans, this history may not be surprising ; but
how

how shall it be told of a people professing themselves Christians!

Nothing, however, can be more desirable, than that every particular of such a history should be recorded; and the largest portion of its materials will be found in the following Memoirs.

Upon the plan we have proposed for the execution of our Work, we must rest our claims for the patronage and support of the Public. Our best abilities shall be exerted in its progress; and, however deficient in other literary requisites, an inattention to truth, or misrepresentation of facts, shall not in any degree be imputed to us. And it will be our particular care to omit no incident in the political life of our Illustrious Public Characters, that has any authentic claim to notice.



Alexander 1st

MEMOIRS
OF THE
Public Character and Life
OF
ALEXANDER THE FIRST,
EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

IN placing the Memoirs of the Emperor of Russia at the head of our Work, we are justified, as well by the courtesy due to an illustrious stranger of pre-éminent rank, as by the extraordinary situation to which he has been designated by Providence, and which justly entitles him to be considered the *First Man in Europe*. We trust, we do not depart from the plan of our Work, when we adopt and act under the influence of this sentiment. We are so impressed by the whole history of his greatness, which is so perfect, and so recently completed, that it is impossible to divest ourselves of a prejudice which is in favour of goodness itself: for it will be found, in the following account, that the Emperor Alexander has in every public act been guided by the best and most upright policy, founded on the love of his people and the desire of promoting the general happiness of Europe; and if he has not at all times succeeded, his failure has rather been the result of that disordered state of things, which was incapable of amelioration, and obnoxious to the success of the wisest measures for its restoration, than owing to any defect in the principles which have invariably influenced his conduct.

Alexander was born 23d December 1777. In his person he is tall, lusty, and well-proportioned; but, being a little deaf, to facilitate his hearing he stoops. His deportment is condescending, and dignified: his face is full,

very fair, and his complexion pale; his eyes blue, and expressive of that beneficent mildness, which is one of the prominent features of his character. On the 9th of October 1793, he was married to Maria Louisa Elizabeth Alexiema, of Baden, born January 4, 1779.

In the discharge of his public duties, the Emperor displays great activity and acuteness, but without shew and bustle. The leading features of his mind are sound discretion and humanity. He is so much an enemy to parade, that he is frequently seen, wrapped up in his regimental cloak, riding about the capital alone, upon a little common horse: in this manner he has been known to administer to the wants of the poor. It is his wish, if he should be recognised in this state of privacy, that no one will take off their hats; but the graciousness of this desire only puts the heart in the hand, as it uncovers the head. He drives about Petersburg in a chariot perfectly plain, of a dark olive colour, drawn by four horses, driven by a bearded coachman, a common little postilion, and attended by a single footman. Soldiers are always upon the look-out for him, to give timely notice to the guard of his approach. Without this precaution, it would be impossible, amidst the crowd of carriages which is to be seen in the Residence, to pay him the honour due to his rank. The Emperor is very much attached to the English, numbers of whom are settled in the empire, and have formed, under the auspices of the government, a sort of colony. The Emperor has often been heard to say, that "the man within whose reach Heaven has placed the greatest materials for making life happy, was, in his opinion, an *English country-gentleman*."

As it is not our intention to give any particulars of the private life of his Imperial Majesty previous to the commencement of his public character, on his accession to the throne, we will supply the deficiency by an extract from a work published during the reign of the Emperor Paul, entitled, "*Secret Memoirs of the Court of Russia*."

"The Empress Catharine was prevented by death from executing another design, which would have been more fatal to Paul, but that the youth and natural good disposition of his eldest son defeated it; who, by the purity of his morals, and his personal qualities, inspires a high

a high degree of admiration. That ideal character which enchants us in Telemachus, is almost realized in him; however, though his mother may have the domestic virtues of a *Penelope*, he is very far from having had an *Ulysses* for his father, or a *Mentor* for his tutor. He may be reproached, too, with the same defects which Fenelon has allowed in his imaginary pupil; but these are perhaps not so much failings, as the absence of certain qualities not yet developed in him, or which have been stifled in his heart by the miserable companions that have been assigned him. He inherits from Catharine an elevation of sentiment, and an unalterable equality of temper, a mind just and penetrating, and an uncommon discretion; but a reserve and circumspection unsuitable to his age, and which might be taken for dissimulation, did it not evidently proceed rather from the delicate situation in which he was placed between his father and grandmother, than from his heart, which is naturally frank and ingenuous. He inherits his mother's stature and beauty, as well as her mildness and benevolence: while in none of his features does he resemble his father; and he must certainly dread him, more than love him. Paul, conjecturing the intentions of Catharine in favour of this son, has always behaved coldly towards him; since he discovered in him no resemblance of character, and no conformity of taste, with himself: for Alexander appears to do what his father requires of him, from a principle of filial duty, rather than compliance with his own inclinations. His humanity has acquired him the hearts of the soldiers; his good sense, the admiration of the officers. He is the constant mediator between the autocrat and those unhappy persons, who, by some trifling neglect, may have provoked imperial wrath and vengeance. This pupil of L'Harpe requires not the dignity of Grand-Duke of Russia to inspire sentiments of love and interest; Nature has richly endowed him with the most amiable qualities; and his character of heir to the greatest empire in the world cannot render them indifferent to humanity. Heaven may perhaps have destined him to render thirty millions of people more free than they are at present, and more worthy of being so."

Heaven has, indeed, destined him to overthrow a tyranny which aimed to enslave the world; and most gloriously

has he accomplished his destiny. It is not to be doubted but that the speculations of the author from whose work the above extract is taken, will also be realized in improving the condition of the Russian people. Indeed, we are aware, that there is no object more dear to the heart of Alexander than this; and that his whole mind has long been devoted to promote it by such steps as will most certainly conduce to its attainment.

Previous to our entering on the public actions or political character of the illustrious subject of this Memoir, we must beg permission to insert an instance of his humanity, most fortunately exerted, in restoring to life, by his own personal exertion, a Polish peasant, who had been accidentally drowned in the river Willia, in Lithuania. This circumstance was communicated to the Royal Humane Society of London, by James Grange, Esq. in the following letter :

“ DEAR SIR,

“ His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Alexander, in one of his journeys through Poland, by his own perseverance and personal exertion, restored to life a peasant of that country, who had been drowned a considerable time. This very interesting occurrence came to my knowledge during my stay at St. Petersburg; and took place between Koyna and Wilna, in Lithuania, on the banks of the little river Willia, whence the last-mentioned town derives its name.

“ The Emperor, from some cause or other immaterial to the present subject, had considerably advanced his attendants; and, being led by the winding of the road within a short distance of the above-mentioned river, and perceiving several persons assembled near the edge of the water, out of which they appeared to be dragging something, instantly alighted, and approaching the spot, found it to be the body of a man apparently lifeless. Prompted by humanity alone, and without any other assistance than that of the ignorant boors around him, to whom he was no otherwise known, than that his uniform indicated an officer of rank, he had him conveyed to and laid on the side of a bank, and immediately proceeded with his own hands to assist in taking off the wet clothes from the apparent corpse, and to rub his temples, wrists, &c. which his Imperial

Imperial Majesty continued for a considerable time, using every other means (though destitute of any medical assistance) that appeared at the moment most likely to restore animation; but all without effect.

“ In the midst of this occupation, the Emperor was joined by the gentlemen of his suite, among whom were Prince Wolkousky and Count Liewen (two Russian noblemen), and Dr. Weilly, his Majesty’s head-surgeon, an English gentleman, whose professional abilities are so well known (at least on the continent) that they need no comment, who always travels with, and indeed never quits his Majesty at any time.

“ Their exertions were immediately added to those of the Emperor; and, on the Doctor’s attempting to bleed the patient, his Majesty held and rubbed his arm, and gave every other assistance in his power. However, that, and all other means they could devise, proved equally ineffectual; so much so, that after above three hours fruitless attempts to recover him, the Doctor declared, to the extreme chagrin of the Emperor (who was by this time become very anxious about it), to be his opinion that life was quite gone, and that it was useless proceeding any further.

“ Fatigued as he was by such continued exertion, the Emperor could not, however, rest satisfied, without entreating Dr. Weilly to persevere, and to make a fresh attempt to bleed him. The Doctor, although (as he declared to me himself, and from whose own mouth I have these particulars) he had not the slightest hope of being more successful in this than in former ones, proceeded, nevertheless, to obey the positive injunctions of his Imperial Majesty; when, the whole of them (the noblemen, &c.) making a last effort in rubbing, &c. the Emperor had, at length, the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing blood make its appearance, accompanied by a slight groan.

“ The emotions of his Imperial Majesty on this occasion, the Doctor informed me, are not to be described; and, in the plenitude of his joy, he exclaimed in French, ‘ Good God! this is the brightest day of my life!’ and the tears which instantaneously sprang into his eyes, indicated that these words came from the heart.

“ The accompanying snuff-box, on which this interesting

resting event is faithfully though roughly delineated (the poor inhabitants of that part of Poland being no great artists), was sketched at a neighbouring town, for the purpose of commemorating this restoration; and is one of the four, presented, on the occasion, to the principal actors in it; namely, his Imperial Majesty, and the three gentlemen above mentioned, who are (though not very correctly, it is true) represented on it.

“ Requesting you to excuse the hasty and imperfect way in which I have endeavoured to narrate this very affecting transaction, to which I feel myself incompetent to do adequate justice, allow me to assure you, Sir, of the sentiments of respect and esteem with which I beg leave to subscribe myself,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your’s, most faithfully,

“ JAMES GRANGE.”

Upon the morning after the fatal termination of the reign and life of the Emperor Paul, on the 11th March 1801 (O.S.), his son Alexander, then in the 24th year of his age, was announced as his successor in the chapel of the Winter Palace, where he received the homage of the principal nobility; and, notwithstanding the terrible catastrophe which had just occurred, the prospect which opened to them, by the accession of their favourite to the throne, spread through the people an universal joy. They promised themselves every thing that could be expected from the pupil of the great Catharine, in whose steps he promised to tread.

The Russians were already acquainted with the natural goodness of the young Emperor; and, in his elevation, they saw the glory of their country and its prosperity restored. It required, however, no inconsiderable degree of energy of character, which only true virtue and a sincere devotion to the decrees of Providence could give, to ascend with fortitude a throne so recently stained with the blood of his father and grandfather.

The wise measures which were immediately taken to calm the public mind, to remedy the mischiefs of the former bad government, and to conciliate all ranks of people in favour of the new one, evince a degree of ability and strength of mind greater than was to be expected

pected from the mildness of the new Emperor's disposition. The first public act was the following proclamation:

"We, by the Grace of God, Alexander the First, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. declare to all our faithful subjects—It has pleased the decrees of the Almighty to shorten the life of our beloved Parent and Sovereign, Emperor Paul Petrovitz, who died suddenly, by an apoplectic stroke, at night, between the 11th and 12th days of this month. We, on receiving the imperial hereditary throne of all the Russias, do receive also at the same time, the obligation to govern the people committed unto us by the Almighty, *according to the laws and heart of her who rests in God, our august Grandmother*, Sovereign Empress Catharine the Great, whose memory will be dear for ever to us, and the whole country. Following the steps of her wise intentions, we hope to arrive at the object of carrying Russia to the summit of glory, and to procure an uninterrupted happiness to all our faithful subjects, whom we do hereby invite to seal their fidelity to us, by oath, before the face of all-seeing God, whose assistance we implore to grant us power to support the weight now resting upon us.

"Given at Petersburg, the 12th of March (O.S.) 1801.

"ALEXANDER."

And, in about a fortnight afterwards, the following ukases were issued:

1. All prisoners of state are set at liberty.
2. All the late laws relative to contraband are abolished.
3. The tariff of tolls and customs of 1782 is re-introduced.
4. *The English seamen are released from confinement.*
5. *All societies and clubs are permitted.*
6. The Order of Malta is to be nearly suppressed.
7. The Order of Saint Waldimer is restored.
8. Every body may dress as he pleases, provided he does not violate public decorum.
9. The importation of books and literary productions of every sort is again permitted.
10. The regiments are to bear their old names, and the former regiment of Guards to be re-organized.
11. Every person, whether native, foreigner, or exile,
shall

shall freely enter or quit the Russian dominions, without any molestation or difficulty on the frontiers.

12. "Alexander, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our manufacturers have not yet gained the necessary perfection, nor are sufficient to supply the exigence of our empire, We do hereby command, that the prohibition against the importation of china, earthen and glass wares, steel tools and instruments, hardwares, silks, cottons, and linens, be from this moment suppressed; and that, for the present year, the tariff of 1797 be in force.—*St. Petersburg, March 28, 1801.*"

All the prohibitions against the exportation of corn were removed; peace and good understanding were re-established between the courts of London and Petersburg, which had been so unfortunately interrupted by the impolitic conduct of the late Russian Emperor; and towards the end of the year 1801, there was a temporary suspension of hostilities throughout all Europe.

The Emperor's favourable disposition towards this country was alike agreeable to his natural inclinations and the wisest policy. This cannot be better evinced than by the manly and candid declarations contained in the negotiations that preceded the renewal of the peace, which had, unfortunately, to discuss the important subject which occasioned the bombardment of Copenhagen by Lord Nelson. In one of these papers, his Imperial Majesty declared to Sir Hyde Parker, admiral of the British fleet then in the Baltic, "Although prepared to repel force by force, he persisted in his pacific sentiments; but the justice and moderation of the cabinet of London must enable him to reconcile the demands of humanity with the duties he owed to the honour of his country, and the interests of his allies. From this period, his politics maintained the same pacific character; and the mind of the Emperor was turned to that wide field of improvement which his vast dominions opened to his view; his second care seemed to be the peace and happiness of Europe. All his actions bore the stamp of his character, directed to the liberty and happiness of his people, and the improvement of his dominions. With respect to the politics of Europe, his principles were those of a peace-maker; and Europe felt a security in his character, that if again the storm of war was to desolate its

its plains, that storm was not likely to come from Russia.

Very shortly after the Emperor's accession to the throne, he fitted out, at his own expence, two vessels for a voyage of discovery round the world, under the command of Captain Krusenstern. These ships were provided with every necessary for the accomplishment of the voyage; and several eminent men of letters and science have volunteered their services on this occasion.

In its external relations with the other powers of Europe, the empire of Russia was favourably situated; and the friendship of its government was anxiously sought for by the two rival powers, England and France. Its internal prosperity, although somewhat interrupted by the eccentricities of the Emperor Paul, was completely restored by the peace lately made with England; and the new Emperor commenced his government with the most favourable prospects. Absolute monarch over the largest empire in the world, and possessed of the enthusiastic love of his subjects, his sole object seemed to be their happiness and security.

Towards the end of the year 1803, the Emperor became awake to the importance of checking the ambition of France, before Bonaparte, their First Consul, had plundered and enslaved all Germany, and extended his usurpations to the shores of the Baltic. The honour of Alexander was pledged to obtain from France the performance of her engagements for the independence of the kingdom of Naples, and the indemnification of Sardinia for the loss of Piedmont; and, while the negotiations on these points were carried on between the two courts, war broke out between England and France. The Russian ambassador was directed to take leave, though not with any demonstrations of intentions of immediate hostility. A new levy of 100,000 men was ordered to recruit the Russian army. It was expressly declared, that the government augmented its military force on account of the situation of affairs in the other countries of Europe; and a declaration was made by the Emperor to the Court of Constantinople, that he had encouraged no such designs as were understood to have been suggested from France for the partition of its dominions.

By his magnanimous conduct, the Emperor at once

increased the bitter enmity of the French Ruler, and acquired the confidence and admiration of whatever yet remained independent in Europe, who saw, in this generous and noble conduct, a principle of action which might at a future moment check the strides towards universal monarchy of the restless Corsican. The fruits of the line of conduct which the Emperor Alexander had thus chosen were perceptible in some uneasy movements on the part of France, and were not unuseful to the cause of England, as it occasioned the removal to Italy of many of those battalions which, stationed at Boulogne, were to form a part of the invading army destined to conquer Great Britain.

The perpetration of the murder of the Duke d'Eng-hien—the tragical and lamented fate of that unfortunate prince—the cold-blooded malice of the monster by whose command it was executed—and the shameful violation of the laws of nations, and of the rights of the German empire, by which it was attended—made the deepest impression on every sovereign, and on every feeling mind in Europe; but on none more than that of Alexander, the youthful and amiable sovereign of Russia. From the moment of the Emperor's accession to his vast dominions, his whole soul had been devoted to the happiness of his own subjects, and to the guarding the peace and tranquillity of the other nations of the world. The object of all his public acts appears to have been the healing up those wounds which Europe had received in the long war by which she had been desolated, and to secure the independence of such of her states as had survived that terrible contest. It is true that, in the question of the German indemnities, he had co-operated with France; but, as it should seem, his motives were merely to bring that complicated question to a speedy decision, that the harmony of the empire might be restored, and that no pretence should remain for disturbing its tranquillity in future. The violation of the German territory, therefore, necessarily gave him much pain on every account, both as he was its solemn guarantee, and as being an attack upon a country which, so long as it could protect its own independence, must form the most powerful bulwark to Russia against the immeasurable ambition and revolutionary progress of France. But, however deeply Alexander

ander must have felt as a sovereign at this outrage, perhaps even the consequences to which it manifestly led did not weigh more upon his mind than the moral turpitude of the crime by which it was produced. Not contented, therefore, with causing his ambassador at Paris to remonstrate in the strongest manner upon the subject, he presented, by his minister at Ratisbon, a formal note to the Diet there established, couched in the following terms:

“ The event which has taken place in the states of his Highness the Elector of Baden; the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German empire. His Imperial Majesty is the more affected by this event as he never could have expected a power, which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself. It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the Diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if acts of violence of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and each of its members, must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition.”

In answer to the note presented to the Diet, the representatives of Brandenburg and of Baden expressed their hope, “ that the First Consul would of himself be inclined to give such a full and satisfactory explanation on the subject as might entirely correspond to the expectation of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia.” The great majority of the other states of the German empire, conscious of the insult offered and injury sustained, yet fearful for the renewal of hostilities, in which they must risk much, and from which they could not hope to derive any advantage (the seat of war, too, probably, in their

own territories), preserved an inflexible silence. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the votes of Hanover and Pomerania should alone coincide with the sentiments of the Imperial note.

Great additional solemnity was given to the representations of the Court of Russia, upon this occasion, by its not only having put itself into deep mourning, but by ordering all its ministers at foreign courts to do the same, in memory of the tragical fate of the Duke d'Enghien; a step which the French government affected to consider a direct insult, inasmuch as it silently but forcibly expressed the respect and attachment of the Russian Emperor to the blood-royal of France, and that he considered the execution which had taken place as a barbarous and unqualified murder.

To the correspondence which ensued between the governments of Russia and France the greatest interest will necessarily attach. The state papers thence originating are not only of the utmost importance in themselves, but exhibit the most marked and striking contrast between the personal characters of the two most powerful personages in Europe. In the expressions of the one (the illustrious subject of our Memoir), we trace the god-like benevolence of a Titus or a Marcus Aurelius, the friends and benefactors of the human race; in those of the other, the furious ebullitions of a Zingis or a Tamerlane, the persecutors and enslavers of mankind. The one appears mild, just, and dignified, exerting his vast means in defence of the oppressed nations of the earth: his upstart rival, on the contrary, ferocious, inequitable, and impatient of control, hardly conceals his aspiring to the dominion of the world; while, it should seem, that to lose a day, not spent in acts of beneficence to his fellow men, would afford inexpressible pain to the benevolent spirit of Alexander. The note delivered by the Russian minister, M. Oubril, on the 21st July 1803, contains a very dignified and circumstantial exposition of the Emperor's sentiments and views:—"No state," it urges, "could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations."

In consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of France, the Emperor Alexander became more impressed than
ever

ever with the necessity of making every exertion to reduce a power, which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered so formidable, and which, from the manner in which it was administered, was productive of such monstrous abuses. Influenced by these considerations, the Emperor entered, towards the close of 1804, into active negotiations with Great Britain; and at the same time made every exertion to preserve the peace of Europe, again disturbed by the restless ambition of Bonaparte, who had resolved on the humiliation of Austria, and the destruction of the independence of Germany. In conformity with these beneficent views, he offered his mediation between the contending powers; but, at the very moment the French government was sending a passport for the Russian minister's journey to France, fresh aggressions were committed, affecting the political existence of the independent states of Italy, which obliged his Imperial Majesty to consider his mediation as rejected. Still, when invited by the Emperor of Austria, who was now compelled to provide without delay for his own safety, to renew the negotiation for a coalition with the other courts of Europe against the common disturber, he entered into the designs of the Austrian Emperor with the same spirit, and confined his warlike demonstrations to the advance of a small part of his troops, sufficient to give weight and importance to the mediation of so great a potentate. The endeavours of the Emperor to maintain the peace of the continent, however, were unsuccessful; and preparations were made for the contest which was about to ensue.

Upon the return of Count Marcoff, the Russian ambassador, (whom Bonaparte had, on this occasion, personally insulted) he was received by the Emperor with the most flattering marks of favour; the thanks of the Emperor, returned to him for his services in the most solemn manner, were read in the directing senate; and a pension of 12,000 rubles (about £2000.) annually was settled on him.

As the intervention of Alexander in the cause of the degraded and insulted lesser states of Europe originated in the purest and most disinterested councils, so his conduct, now war became inevitable from the arrogant and unjust conduct of Bonaparte, was distinguished by every quality

quality that could attach upon the character of the Father of his People, and the Friend of Mankind. Having superintended the arrangements and preparations necessary for sending three great armies into the field, destined to act in aid of Austria, and which were to enter Germany successively, he (at a moment when, the French having violated the Prussian territory, his presence might have been of the greatest consequence) suddenly appeared at Berlin, which city he reached on the 26th of October. Here he gained all hearts by his affable and engaging manners, and seemed for a moment to have infused some portion of his spirit into the Prussian councils. But the ruin of the Austrian army at Ulm, and the retreat of the first Russian army from the Inn, changed the aspect of affairs, and compelled the Emperor to return with equal rapidity, and place himself at the head of his troops.

It is not necessary here to give the history of the unfortunate campaign which nearly destroyed the Austrian empire, and the independence of Europe, at the battle of Austerlitz. The Emperor Alexander performed all that could be expected from the magnanimity of his character, and the sincerity of his policy. In this fatal battle he exhibited the most courageous personal devotion to the cause in which he had engaged. He placed himself at the head of the fourth column of the allied army, and constantly remained with the infantry during the whole of the terrible conflict, exhibiting great proofs of presence of mind and military ability. When the fortune of the day turned to the side of the French, the efforts of Alexander were most conspicuous. It is said, that he thrice, at the head of his guards, charged the enemy; and, by his gallantry, not only secured the retreat of the remainder of the allied army, which would otherwise have been cut to pieces, but actually saved the greater part of the Russian artillery, which he rescued and carried off with him, after it had been taken possession of by the victorious French. Nor do we find that his nobleness of mind, or magnanimity of conduct, deserted him when the fatal issue of that day decided the fate of the war. He made no proposition for peace, or offers of submission, to the conqueror. To the humiliating conditions imposed by the conqueror upon the Emperor of Austria, Alexander, with his accustomed
greatness

greatness of mind, refused to become a party; and, accordingly, caused his army, although under very distressing circumstances, to commence its retreat, on the 6th of December 1804, from the Austrian states, preserving at the same time too formidable a front for pursuit or molestation.

That the public character of the illustrious subject of this Memoir may be rescued from the possibility of suffering any diminution from the failure of the campaign which had thus been concluded, we feel it necessary to record certain historical facts, to which this failure may with great reason be ascribed. The whole success of the proposed plan depended upon the circumstance of the Austrians being able to maintain their position upon the Lech till the arrival of the Russian army. It was evident, however, that the French army might reach the banks of that river a considerable time before the first division of the troops of Russia; the enemy would therefore easily outnumber the Imperialists in Germany, and compel them, in consequence, to retreat. General Mack, to whom most unfortunately the command of the Austrian army was intrusted, was the most unfit commander that the court of Vienna could have selected for the purpose of opposing an enemy remarkably distinguished for the impetuosity of his spirit, the rapidity of his movements, and the novelty and boldness of his designs. The Austrian army did arrive on the banks of the Lech in time; but, immediately afterwards, the General abandoned that position, and departed entirely from the original plan of the campaign: to which circumstance the subsequent disasters of the war are in a great measure to be ascribed. Another capital error was committed by the Austrians in suffering the army assembled by the French to pass through the territory of Anspach, and thus be enabled to interrupt the communication of General Mack with the Austrian states and the Russian auxiliaries (the first division of which had not then arrived at the Inn), and post an army of 160,000 men in his rear, while the Austrian army did not amount to half the number.

The unfortunate manner in which the Austrian cabinet conducted the first operation of the campaign with respect to Bavaria, was a sacrifice of principle to the expedient, and consequently multiplied the difficulties the Imperialists

Imperialists had to encounter. In pursuance of the of the campaign, it was necessary to traverse the whole electorate; and the friendly disposition and co-operation of that government, whose force was estimated at about 20,000 men, was essentially necessary to contribute to the security and strength of the Austrian army. But the court of Vienna was jealous of the inclinations, and suspicious of the designs of the Elector, which it was therefore judged *expedient* to anticipate, and endeavour, while the French army was still at a distance, to intimidate him into an immediate decision in favour of the allies. For this purpose, the Prince Schwartzenberg was ordered to proceed to Munich, and to deliver to the Elector of Bavaria a letter from the Emperor, in which he was required immediately to join his army to that of Austria. The Prince was further directed to state, that the electoral troops could not be allowed to act in a separate body, but must be incorporated with the Austrians. The demand was accompanied with menaces, in case of refusal, and was rendered still more offensive from the imperious tone and manner in which it was communicated. The Elector, taken by surprise, was compelled to dissimble: he entreated, in the most earnest manner, to be allowed to maintain his neutrality, but at length affected to yield to the pressing remonstrances of the Austrian minister. He addressed a short note, couched in the most friendly terms, to the Prince Schwartzenberg, in which he promised, upon certain conditions, to sign the treaty proposed by the court of Vienna. On the following day, he dispatched General Nogarolla with a letter to the Emperor, stating, that he had directed his minister to sign, that morning, a treaty with the Prince Schwartzenberg, pursuant to which he should join his troops with those of his Imperial Majesty. It was, however, discovered that the Prince was not invested with powers to negotiate, and a further delay was thus obtained.

In the mean time, intelligence was hourly received at Munich of the preparations made by the Austrians to enter Bavaria. It became, therefore, necessary to adopt decisive measures. Accordingly, on the night of the 5th of September, which was the day upon which the treaty with Austria was to have been signed, orders were secretly issued

issued to the different garrisons, and to the detachments of troops scattered throughout this country, to hasten by forced marches into the Upper Palatinate. The Elector, accompanied by his court, suddenly withdrew to Wurtzburg; and the Austrian army entered without opposition. The Imperialists advanced towards the Upper Palatinate; and the Bavarians retired before them into Franconia. The negotiation, however, still continued; new proposals were made, allowing the neutrality of the Elector, upon condition that he should immediately disband his army. This proposition, and others subsequently made, were rejected by the Elector, who relied on the support and assistance of France, into whose arms he was thrown by the impolitic conduct of Austria.

Another cause of the failure of the exertions of the Emperor of Russia in favour of the independence of Europe, may be found in the political system of the Prussian government; which we shall have ample occasion hereafter to discuss, with sufficient facts to prove how erroneous and fatal it proved.

Bonaparte having, in his bulletin, grossly misrepresented the facts of the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor Alexander published the following authentic account of it:

“*Troppau, Jan. 25th.*—The issue of the battle of Austerlitz has been so well confirmed by its consequences, that it is almost incredible how France could publish such extravagant and untrue relations of that affair. All Europe, and the Russian nation in particular, justly expect a relation on our part. The love of truth alone, and the wish to adduce none but authenticated facts, have hitherto prevented the appearance of this relation. In the mean while, it is necessary to correct some of the statements of the French bulletins, particularly the 30th, and to lay them before the public. General Savary spoke only with two persons belonging to the Emperor's suite; and, excepting these, he only saw some field-adjutants, who had brought dispatches from their chiefs, or were in waiting to transmit orders to them. The chief of the French nation might not have derived any pleasure from the conversation of Prince Dolgorucky; but he at the same time forgot that the Russians did not belong to those nations who sought his protection. The number of the allied army, as stated in the bulletins, was

105,000 men, *viz.* 80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians, and the French much inferior. But why were their numbers not given? Besides the reserve, which was said alone to be equal to an army, the enemy's force consisted of four large divisions of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry each, commanded by a marshal and two generals of division. The combined army on the other hand, consisted of 52,000 Russians and 17,000 Austrians. But this inferiority in number was the least misfortune in the Russian army: the scarcity of provisions was so great, that, for nearly two days preceding the battle, they had nothing to eat. The horses were famished to such a degree, that those belonging to the artillery could no longer draw. Of course in the battle the artillery was of little use, excepting in those stations where it was first planted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent our maintaining our post any longer at Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear. These circumstances urged the necessity of the battle, the happy result of which could only be expected from the valour of the troops. The imperial guard, of which it is said in a bulletin that it lost all its colours, are still in possession of them, and have taken one pair from the enemy. The combined army, it is said, lost 15,000 killed, and 20,000 prisoners. Do they include among these the 20,000 said to have been drowned? After so many forced marches, and so much fatigue and hunger as had been sustained, with the sickness consequent thereunto, after the affairs upon the Danube and Moravia, of the whole Russian army there is not a deficiency of more than 17,000 men. But were the loss as considerable as the bulletin has pretended, why was not the Russian army pursued, as that bulletin falsely asserts? On the contrary, the Russian army kept the field till the next morning. The armistice was not concluded, but with the Emperor of Germany, at whose particular desire the Russians first commenced their retreat; and which was also effected in good order and without loss, notwithstanding the French partly assert, that during the negotiations with Austria, the French army prosecuted its victories. To enhance the glory of this day, the French bulletin says, that the French guard (the reserve corps) took no part in the battle. The same bulletin, however, afterwards

afterwards asserts, that when one French battalion was broken by the Russian guard, Bonaparte ordered Marshal Bessières to advance, and that the imperial guards on both sides immediately came to action.

“ The French bulletins abound with false statements, over which the pretended noise and distraction occasioned by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon, and a conflict between 200,000 men, throw but a flimsy covering. Can it possibly serve the interests of a great general to sanction such reports? Can he really stand in need of such means as these to increase that military glory, which is not denied him? Posterity will do justice to the truth.”

The Russian forces, after their return in consequence of peace between France and Austria, were still kept up to their establishment, or rather indeed considerably increased by new levies. The idea of prosecuting the war seemed by no means abandoned on the part of the Emperor; and the hope seemed to be entertained by him of a renewed opportunity for retrieving the affairs of the allies, and effecting the deliverance of Europe. In the mean time, he was not inactive in that field which was still open to his exertions. By the treaty of Presburg, the Venetian territories, which had been ceded to Austria by the peace of Luneville, together with part of Istria and Dalmatia, were to be added to the kingdom of Italy, as also the Mouths of the Cattaro. The latter constitute a position upon the Adriatic of extraordinary strength. By the various intersections of rivers, and other peculiar circumstances attending this situation, it is capable of defence by a very small number of men against a very superior force. The officer who commanded the fortress was General Brady, who possessed but a small number of troops—according to the Austrian statement, not more than eighty men. The time for delivering it up had expired, and nevertheless it remained still in the hands of the Austrian commandant; when an officer in the Russian service, whether instructed by his government, or acting from the suggestions of his own mind with respect to the importance of the enterprise, appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender. The expedition was conducted with promptitude and decision; and, from the suddenness of his appearance, the inefficacy of the garrison, or a disposition on the part of the governor

to accommodate the recent ally, rather than the enemy of his master, with so valuable a station, the Russian officer easily succeeded, and the summons was obeyed without delay. The dexterity with which the French in this instance were circumvented, by an enemy whom they had affected to despise, as destitute of the least portion of skill or stratagem, gave no small triumph to the court of Petersburg; little less, perhaps, than what arose from the importance of the acquisition itself. On the other hand, intelligence of this event was received by the cabinet of the Thuilleries with all those indications of chagrin and rage which might naturally be expected. The French ambassador at Vienna was ordered to remonstrate on the occasion with extreme energy, and to insist most peremptorily on the fulfilment of the treaty of Presburgh, and on the delivery of Cattaro, not through the medium of its present Russian possessor, but by the Austrians themselves, from whose hands alone the French should receive it. Russia, however, maintained her conquest, amidst all the discussions and irritation to which it gave rise, until toward the conclusion of the year, when a larger theatre was opened for her exertions, and the circumstances of Albania (which yet, after its original seizure, afforded no event of considerable consequence) formed the principal object of her attention.

In the summer of the year 1806, negotiations were entered into for a peace with France in concert with England, when a circumstance occurred which gave the Emperor Alexander an opportunity of proving his good faith towards this country, and the firmness of his character.

The French court had been able to cajole the Russian minister, M. Oubril, into a separate treaty of peace, which was transmitted to Petersburg for the Emperor's ratification: this, however, was promptly refused, and a declaration issued referring to the event, which contained the following passage:—

“ But, at the same time to afford a proof of the immutability of our principles, which, under various circumstances, had ever been directed to the same end, we at that time made known the conditions on which we were disposed to renew our negotiations with the French government. The bases proposed by us are so moderate,
that

that they cannot be rejected without an open menace of the general safety; and they are so consistent with the advantage of every power concerned, that, in case of their being accepted, a general peace must not only follow, but be confirmed to Europe upon the most permanent footing. Thus must peace, or the continuance of the war, be the consequences of these measures. We wish for peace; but if no lasting peace can be obtained, grounded upon mutual advantage, then it will be necessary, for the honour of the Russian name, the sacred character of our engagements, and the general deliverance of Europe, to proceed to extremities, which on these considerations cannot but appear to us as absolutely indispensable. We are convinced that each of our faithful subjects, animated with the love of their country, impelled by a sense of honour, and surrounded by examples of patriotic zeal, will speedily unite their powerful efforts with our own, as soon as the safety of Russia, the voice of glory, and our command, shall call upon them to co-operate for the public good. In this firm reliance upon the help of God, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to apprise you beforehand of our views, and in so doing to afford you a new proof, that in all our undertakings we neither seek the extension of our territory, nor the fleeting glory of victories, but that it is our wish and endeavour to secure the general safety, the preservation of our allies, and the dignity of our empire.

“ Given at St. Petersburg, August 30, and in the sixth year of our government.

“ ALEXANDER.”

In a declaration which followed, the Emperor notices the disastrous events of the last year—the peace which Austria had been obliged, under peculiarly disadvantageous terms, to make—and the unfortunate situation of Prussia. Plunged in a deceitful security by the hope of a peace which she vainly flattered herself to enjoy, and the false confidence she placed in a perfidious ally, she had suddenly been precipitated in an abyss of misfortune. The armies of Napoleon falling upon the Prussian troops before they had time to re-unite, defeated them; and the capital, unprotected, became for the French an easy conquest;

conquest; and, finally, they had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the provinces of the kingdom. In this state of affairs, seeing that the neighbouring power which separated France from the western provinces of the Russian empire was deprived of all means of defence, it became indispensably necessary for his Majesty to advance the army under the conduct of Field-Marshal Count Kaminsky, for the defence of the Russian territory.

During the campaign that ensued, the Russian army under General Beningsen disputed, and successfully disputed, the power of France; at Pultusk, Eylau, and Heilsberg, they conquered; and maintained its honour unimpaired in the unequal battle of Friedland.

It was, however, judged inexpedient to continue to oppose the vast accumulation of force which France was now able to use; accordingly an armistice was agreed to, at the instance of the Russian general, which produced the peace which soon afterwards was signed at Tilsit.

Sir Robert Wilson's review of this event, and the circumstances which led to it, is so well entitled to respect for its justice, and the authenticity of his information on the subject, that we shall give it in the words of the gallant author.

"At Tilsitz, the Emperor Alexander might descend from his dignity, and suspend his estimation in Europe, by a contaminating connection of personal amity with Bonaparte: but even in that fatal moment he was not senseless to his duty, as protector of Russian interests (for the sake of which he indeed consented to the revolting sacrifice); and although he humiliated his own majesty, he enriched the sway, and essentially strengthened the throne, of succeeding Autocrats. Peace was not degrading to Russia; the mode of affiancing with France could only render such peace a reproach.

"After the glorious and sanguinary resistance that she had alone opposed to Bonaparte with all his means, she was warranted in sheathing an undishonoured sword, if her situation and immediate interests required some repose. She had engaged in the campaign as an ally of Prussia: she had prepared only as an auxiliary, and to support a sovereign who could bring into the field above

200,000

200,000 soldiers of high military character, whose country was covered with strong fortresses, and who had the means of abundantly providing every supply. By the loss of one battle, and a series of unparalleled treasons and misfortunes, Prussia was in a few days annihilated; and the conquerors, confident in numbers, and presumptuous from victory, appeared on the Vistula with the declared intention of planting their eagles on the towers of St. Petersburg.

“ The Russian army, inadequate in numbers, unprepared for such a contest, reinforced by no more than 10,000 dispirited Prussians, instead of the victorious multitude that they anticipated to join on the banks of the Rhine—with a knowledge of their immediate wants—without the hope of succour for many months—conscious but always indignant at the disasters of Austerlitz, resolved to resist the menacing torrent; and, by a combination of extraordinary courage and endurance, they not only arrested its progress, but preserved the Russian territory from the foot of an invader, and finally maintained an attitude which obliged Bonaparte to treat their country with a consideration that no hostile power had ever before experienced in his negotiations.

“ Had Alexander but refused for a *third* time that interview which Bonaparte so eagerly urged, and sent his ministers to treat for a peace which the exigencies of Russia might have rendered desirable, such peace would have been sanctioned by honour, and, although not in unison with the wishes of England, England would have had no right to remonstrate with asperity, or reproach the termination of a war which Russia had alone sustained. If Alexander had not yielded a final acquiescence to councils repugnant to his own feelings—if, in that extremity, he had collected around him the wise, the patriotic, the loyal, and the brave, who were ready to support him, and were devoted to his interest—his dignity would have been preserved, and his ministers would have been enabled to maintain a tone commanding terms so favourable, that the assurance of a prosperous continuation of the war could scarcely have offered equal advantages to Russia.” *Sir Robert Wilson's Sketch of the Campaign in Poland, &c.*

Very shortly after the peace of Tilsit, the amicable relations

relations of Russia with this country were interrupted; and the unfortunate expedition against Copenhagen, under Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier, completely deprived us of the favourable opinion of the Emperor Alexander.

The expectation of assistance from England, whether well or ill founded, was the cause, not of the peace of Tilsit, but of the temper with which it was concluded. Out of twenty dispatches received from an ambassador with the Emperor, there was not one in which he did not say, "Send assistance, or Russia will fail you: make a diversion that shall take part of the weight of the war off Russia, or she will withdraw from it." This assistance was not given, and Russia was compelled to conclude the treaty of Tilsit—not, however, before the Emperor Alexander had endeavoured to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France. Upon the refusal of our court to accept this offer, a declaration of a hostile nature was issued by the Emperor, and the two countries most interested in the welfare of each other unfortunately placed in a state of war.

We think it our duty, and within the limits of our plan, to bring forward every fact which tends to disclose the principle of action which on this occasion seemed to influence the mind of the illustrious subject of this Memoir; and therefore present to our readers the following important record of the speech of Lord Hutchinson (the military public agent of this country to the armies of the Allies), in the debate on the expedition to Copenhagen.

Lord Hutchinson said, "he had listened with the greatest attention to the very able and eloquent speech of the Marquis Wellesley, who had just sat down, but had been unable to extract from it any justification, satisfactory to his mind, of the expedition to Copenhagen. The noble Lord had failed in proving that Zealand could not have been effectually defended, even if the French were in possession of Holstein and Jutland. He was of opinion, even supposing the French to have been in possession of Holstein and Jutland, that still Zealand might have been defended with effect against the French arms. He had been employed on a very important mission; and he thought it the more necessary to say something respect-

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ing that mission, in consequence of partial extracts from his letters having been communicated in another place, by which he had been held out as giving opinions which were never delivered by him. The Russian army in Poland never amounted to more than 70,000 men, with the exception of two detached divisions, amounting to about 30,000. The French troops were estimated at 150,000. From the disasters sustained by the former, at and after the unfortunate battle of Friedland, the loss of the Russians amounted to 40,000 men: they lost also 1898 officers, and 28 generals. He was then perfectly convinced, that Russia must make peace with France. He believed, also, that the Emperor of Russia was sincere in his desire to mediate, if possible, a peace between this country and France; but, at all events, he then believed, that the relations of peace and amity might have been preserved between Great Britain and Russia. The treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 7th of July.

“ On the 23d of August, my Lords, I had a conversation with the Emperor of Russia, at Kamincostroff. His Imperial Majesty asked me, whether I had not admitted to Count Strogonoff, three days after the battle of Friedland, that it was necessary for him to make peace? I told him that I had done so; that I was of that opinion then, which subsequent events had confirmed; that I thought myself bound, in justice to him and to myself, publicly to avow it; which I should continue to do as long I lived. His Imperial Majesty said, ‘ We are then both agreed on the necessity there was to make peace.’ I answered in the affirmative.

“ His Imperial Majesty proceeded to state, that he had offered his mediation to England; that he attached no false vanity (*gloriolle* was the French word) to the acceptance or rejection of his mediation; but that it was his most sincere and anxious wish that England should make peace, as he was sure that it was his interest, and also that of Europe, and our’s, that we should restore tranquillity to the world.

“ I said to his Imperial Majesty, that he had not given sufficient time for England to accept or reject his mediation, because a much longer period than a month must elapse before any answer could be received; and, though the disposition of my mind inclined towards peace, I,

nor no other man in England would accept it, but on conditions the most reasonable and honourable; that, as far as we were concerned, the events of the war had been highly favourable.

“ To which his Imperial Majesty replied, that the time allowed was of no importance, because we might take three or four months, if we pleased, to accept or reject his mediation; but his anxious wish and desire was, that we should make peace. That he had a perfect knowledge of the feelings and character of the people of England; that he had been made acquainted by Bonaparte with the conditions proposed to be offered, and that he had no doubt that even I myself would consider them to be highly reasonable and honourable.

“ Some confidential conversation followed, which I do not think myself at liberty to disclose; but from what then passed, as I have already stated, I was justified in believing that the relations of peace and amity might have been preserved between the two countries. It has been stated in another place, that I had given an opinion, that if the attack on Copenhagen had not taken place, Russia would not have gone to war with this country. My Lords, I never gave such an opinion; nor do I mean now to say, that if that attack had not been made, there would have been no war with Russia; but I mean to say, that the result of that expedition did materially change the relations between Great Britain and Russia, and gave rise to sentiments of a very hostile nature at the court of Petersburg.

“ Intelligence of the result of the attack on Copenhagen arrived at St. Petersburg on the 27th or 28th of August. On the 4th of September I saw the Emperor again at Kamincostroff. His Imperial Majesty began the conversation, by asking me what I thought of our attack upon Copenhagen?

“ I replied, that I was entirely ignorant of the circumstances which had occasioned that attack; but I hoped that the administration in England could justify themselves, and prove to the world, that the Danes were on the eve of joining all their forces to the French, to make common cause against England.

“ His Imperial Majesty told me in reply, that it was impossible for me to be of that opinion, if I would recollect

lect the repeated conversations which had taken place between us, on the subject of Denmark, at Bartenstein, in which he told me that he had used every effort in his power to bring forward the Crown Prince of Denmark, and to induce him to join the coalition against France. The answers of the Prince had always been explicit and uniform—that he had maintained for many years a system of neutrality, in which he was determined to persevere, as the people whom he governed had flourished and prospered under it, and that no consideration should ever induce him to depart from it. His Imperial Majesty added, that I must be acquainted with the decision of character which belonged to the Crown Prince; that nothing was so difficult as to shake his determination, or to induce him to change any line of conduct which he had once adopted; and that he was sure no connection existed between the French and Danish governments previous to the attack on Copenhagen.

“ I then said, that I believed Lord G. L. Gower had delivered to his Imperial Majesty’s minister a note on the subject; to which his Imperial Majesty answered that he had, but that the contents of it were nugatory, as it contained no sufficient explanation, or offer of satisfaction. His Imperial Majesty then proceeded to state the great concern which our unjustifiable aggression had given him; that the French government never had done any thing so strong; that it justified every thing they had done, or might do hereafter. If such proceedings were admissible, there was an end of all those relations which had usually influenced the conduct of nations towards each other; that every body was at liberty to do just what they pleased, and that he might attack Sweden to-morrow. His Imperial Majesty then told me, in the most peremptory language, tone, and manner, that he would have satisfaction, complete satisfaction, for this unprovoked aggression: that it was his duty, as Emperor of Russia, to demand it; and that he would have it. And he asked me, whether even I myself could venture to differ with him on that subject? He then said, that he was bound to Denmark by the most solemn treaties and engagements, which treaties and engagements he was determined to adhere to and fulfil. His Imperial Majesty then added, that he supposed we meant to make an

attack on Cronstadt: he did not know what the event of that attack might be; but this he knew, that he was determined to resist to the last man, and to prove himself not entirely unworthy of filling that high station to which it had pleased Providence to call him.

"I told his Imperial Majesty, that I had strong reason to hope and believe, that no attack would be made on Cronstadt. His Imperial Majesty said he was prepared for such an event, and had taken his determination upon it, which was that which he had before stated to me. He then closed the conversation, by repeating, with much emphasis, that 'he would have satisfaction for Denmark.'

"These conversations were of the greatest importance, with respect to the views and sentiments of the Russian government, being held, not with any minister, but with the head of the government, with the Emperor of Russia himself; and from them, his Lordship observed, he conceived himself justified in drawing the conclusion, that the attack on Copenhagen had materially changed the relations between this country and Russia. He had seen the most atrocious libels against the Emperor of Russia, tending to set up that monarch as a mark of indignation and reproach, and even to raise his own subjects against him. These libels were published in this country, and could not be sufficiently reprobated. The noble Lord had treated lightly the opinion expressed in Europe respecting the expedition to Copenhagen; but he was certain that that opinion was highly unfavourable to this country, particularly in the north of Europe; nor did he conceive that the expedition had been justified by the arguments used by the noble Lord."

The adherence of Sweden to her alliance with England drew upon her the hostility of all her northern neighbours; and the conquest of Swedish Finland by Russia was the consequence.

The most important event which we have to notice subsequent to the treaty of Tilsit, is the active concurrence of the Emperor Alexander in the war between France and Austria, which was brought to so unfortunate a conclusion.

We shall not attempt to enter into any discussion of the expediency or policy of the Russian Emperor in thus becoming

becoming subservient, as it should seem, to the ambition of the very man he had so lately opposed with so much fortitude. The errors of this policy have been amply expiated; and a twelvemonth did not elapse before the general ruin and misery which rapidly spread throughout Russia, in consequence of the total want of commerce, obliged the Emperor Alexander to relax in a system which the intrigues of Bonaparte had induced him to adopt. This relaxation drew upon him the hostility of the ruler of the French nation, who immediately began to arrange his plans for the destruction of the Russian empire.

It was to no purpose that Alexander represented to him the actual pressure of public suffering throughout Russia; that she could no longer exist as a nation without commerce; and that he was willing to make great sacrifices to secure even a portion of trade to his subjects: that he was contented to lay a new duty of twenty-five per cent. on all colonial produce and goods of British manufacture, and would allow France half the revenue to sanction the measure. Bonaparte insultingly replied to these proposals, that nothing short of the total exclusion of British shipping from the ports of Russia would satisfy him; and that any compromise on his part would be a total abandonment of the continental system.

Alexander had already used all possible endeavours to avert the evils of war. His relation the Duke of Oldenburgh had been plundered of his dominions by Bonaparte, in a time of peace; which was submitted to by the Emperor with no greater effort in behalf of the injured prince than the issue of an ineffectual protest, which, however, a year afterwards was considered as having "annihilated the alliance."

The court of St. Petersburg for a long period had foreseen that actual hostility, and another appeal to arms, could alone preserve the independence and stability of the empire, and that all the power of Russia would be necessary for her own defence; yet, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, it procrastinated every indication of hostility, until its own dignity could no longer be compromised, or its integrity and safety preserved, by further delay.

As early as the spring of the year 1811, the cabinet of Russia perceived that war was inevitable. The King of Saxony had been recommended to concentrate the troops belonging to the duchy of Warsaw on the Vistula; the conscription throughout France had been very considerably extended; and the designs of Bonaparte became daily more evident. The military preparations, therefore, in Russia were made on the most extensive scale. Cannon were secretly sent from the arsenal toward the frontiers; the different battalions called "garrison regiments" were incorporated with the regular forces; and by the end of February in that year, no less than 200,000 men were quartered in the western provinces of that empire; while many, it is now ascertained, of the most intelligent generals, who commanded divisions of these troops, successively visited St. Petersburg under the pretext of arranging their private affairs, but in reality for the purpose of conferring with the minister at war on the state of their respective corps.

These preparations were increased with redoubled activity, after the incorporation of the Hans Towns with the French empire, and the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburgh (the integrity of which latter state was guaranteed by the 12th and 15th articles of the treaty of Tilsit), on the principle, that by their continuing to trade with Great Britain, "their commerce frustrated the salutary and decisive regulations of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, which alone were calculated effectually to resist the principles of the British orders in council."

The Emperor Alexander was deeply affected by these aggressions, and perfectly aware of the tendency of Napoleon's ambitious designs. The time, however, was not yet arrived, when it was judged expedient to pursue that vigorous line of conduct which, perhaps, he ought to have sooner adopted. The situation of Russia with respect to Turkey was still unsettled: she had made the greatest exertions in a destructive contest with that power, and her finances were considerably embarrassed. It was also very uncertain what part Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, might take in a contest between Russia and France; it being well known that every exertion had been made by Bonaparte to engage that prince to enter into his designs. No time, however, was lost in encour-
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raging the manufacture of arms: 500,000 musquets, and 2000 pieces of ordnance, were rapidly finished, and ready for any disposable purpose; various fortifications were erected on the banks of the Dwina; and, upon the whole, the military preparations were much more formidable, and upon a larger scale, than those which preceded the wars of 1805 and 1807. The organization, too, of the forces was changed. The cavalry, which used to be attached to the different divisions of infantry, was separated from them. The infantry of the line consisted of twenty-eight divisions, of six regiments each; and every regiment contained three battalions of 600 effective men; forming a total of 302,400 infantry. The cavalry were composed of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each; every squadron of 142 effective men, amounting in the whole to 39,760, besides 50,000 Cossacks, making together a force of 392,100 men. From this enumeration may be deducted nine divisions: two of them were to be employed against the Persians, five against the Turks, and two were to continue in Finland by way of precaution. There then remained 294,960 men, which Russia could, in the year 1811, have opposed to France, exclusively of the militia; for arming which latter force there were a sufficient number of military depôts well-provided, and situated in convenient places for the distribution of arms and stores.

It will also be evident from the following document, which is the substance of an engagement afterwards entered into between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg, the 24th March 1812, so far as the same are referred to in a subsequent treaty between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, the 3d of March 1813, that, for some time before Bonaparte invaded Russia, the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm had, from the movements of the French armies threatening the Russian empire, engaged to make a diversion in Germany against France and her allies with a strong force of between 40 and 50,000 men: but, as this diversion could not be securely made whilst Norway could be regarded as the enemy of Sweden, Russia engaged, either by negotiation or military co-operation, to unite that kingdom to Sweden. The acquisition of Norway

way was to be considered as a preliminary operation to the diversion in Germany. An indemnity was to be offered to Denmark in Germany, if she would cede Norway; if she refused, she was to be considered as an enemy.

“ The object of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden, in forming an alliance, is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally, their states and possessions, against the common enemy.

“ The French government having, by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and, by the movements of its armies, having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

“ As the King of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause, consistently with the security of his own dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages, moreover, to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish Majesty.

“ The two contracting parties engage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany; and the Emperor of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal, and under the immediate orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

“ The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the King of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance; and will offer to his Danish Majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish Majesty will cede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden.

“ In case his Danish Majesty refuses this offer, and shall

shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

“ As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagements of his Swedish Majesty to co-operate with his troops in Germany in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until Norway shall have been acquired to Sweden, either by the cession of the King of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been obtained.

“ His Britannic Majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to, and to guarantee the stipulation contained in the said treaty.

“ By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo, the 30th of August 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to 35,000 men.”

As a further proof that the Russian cabinet had long considered a war with France inevitable, that it perceived the little security which would be derived from any further submission to the usurpation and tyranny of Bonaparte, and that the time was now arrived to resist his unwarrantable pretensions and encroachments, it may be recollected, that a positive refusal was given to the demand of the French minister with respect to the adoption of the burning decrees, notwithstanding his repeated claims on that subject by the command of his master, and which had been successful both in Denmark and Germany; nor must it be forgotten, that the Russian government permitted the sale of all British manufactures, and even took measures to prevent the entrance of many articles usually imported from France, to the great detriment of French commerce, especially that of Lyons. The war with England was also extremely unpopular throughout Russia; as the greater part of the nobility derived their incomes from the produce of their estates, which had before found a principal market in England.

It is not to be doubted, therefore, but that Russia had been long aware that it would be necessary, sooner or later, to have recourse to arms to defend herself from the threatened hostility of France, if not to recover her independence;

independence ; and this foresight enabled her to augment the preparation of her warlike means.

On the 23d March 1812, the Emperor Alexander issued the following declaration for the recruiting of his forces :—

“ The present situation of Europe requires the adoption of firm and strong measures, as well as indefatigable vigilance and energetic exertions, so as to fortify our extensive empire in the most formidable way possible against all hostile enterprises. Our bold and courageous Russian nation has been accustomed to live in peace and harmony with all the surrounding nations ; but, when storms have threatened our empire, patriots of all ranks and stations were ready to draw the sword for the defence of their religion and laws.

“ Now there appears to be the most urgent necessity to increase the number of our troops by a new levy. Our strong forces are already at their posts, for the defence of the empire ; their bravery and courage are known to all the world. The confidence of their Emperor and government is with them. Their faith and love will make them irresistible against a far superior force. With the same paternal care have we adopted all defensive measures, to secure the safety and welfare of all and every one ; and therefore order—1st. To raise in the whole empire, from each 500 men, two recruits ; 2dly, To commence in all governments two weeks after the receipt of the ukase, and to be finished in the course of a month ; 3dly, To conform to the regulations laid down with respect to the levy of recruits by an ukase presented to the Senate, and dated September 16, 1811 ; 4thly, The recruits to be kept in the garrison towns, with the garrison and interior battalions, on the same footing as the recruits for provisionary depôts are kept and brought up.

“ The immediate fulfilment of this order for raising of recruits during the period fixed is entrusted to the Senate.”

The downfall of Russia had been openly declared by Bonaparte to have been decreed by an unavoidable destiny ; and he gave himself out as the hero appointed to fulfil the high commission, which imposed on him the task of driving the Muscovites back to the deserts of Asia. His military fame, his good fortune, and the immense

mense force he was about to bring together to execute his threatened vengeance, induced the unthinking part of mankind to imagine the probability of his success, and his abettors and the partizans of his system to speculate on the advantages they might derive from a division of the spoil ; while the more wise and upright found reason to hope, that the madness of his ambition would tend to the ruin of the tyrant, and the deliverance of Europe from his iron sway. How perfectly has the result justified these hopes, which were founded on the principle, that what is radically wrong must, sooner or later, be overthrown.

The Russian army was now numerous and well appointed : the people, in every part of the empire, inspired with the most enthusiastic patriotism, and burning with the desire to meet their invaders. At the same time, the French bulletins proclaimed to the world, that Russia was in her last agonies, her regular armies annihilated, and her troops reduced to the forced militia of the provinces ; and that terror and dismay had seized on all.

Bonaparte did not omit to use the influence he so unfortunately possessed over the Austrian government, to obtain a treaty of alliance ; by which the latter engaged to furnish 30,000 men to act against Russia, on the condition of receiving, if attacked, an equal succour from France.

Before the commencement of the war with France, the Emperor Alexander issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating the extremity to which he had allowed himself to be reduced, previous to taking that step, and exhorting them to the most strenuous exertions ; and, after the passage of the Niemen, caused the subjoined address to be published :—

“ For a long time we have remarked the hostile comportment of the French Emperor towards Russia ; but we still hoped, through moderate and pacific measures, to avert hostilities. At last, notwithstanding all our wishes to maintain peace, we witnessed an incessant repetition of open outrages, which compelled us to arm and to assemble our troops ; though still, while we could flatter ourselves with the hope of reconciliation, we remained within the confines of our empire, and, without violating peace, were prepared for defence. All

these moderate and pacific measures could not secure to us the tranquillity of which we were desirous. The French Emperor, by an attack upon our troops at Kowna, has already commenced war; consequently, nothing farther remains for us, but, while we invoke the aid of the Sovereign of the Universe, the Author and Defender of Truth, to place our force in opposition to the force of the enemy. It is unnecessary to remind our generals, our chiefs, and warriors, of their duty and of their valour: in their veins flows the blood of the Sclavonians, so highly renowned of old for their victories. Soldiers! you are the defenders of religion, your country, and independence. I am with you. God is on your side."

On the 22d of April, the Emperor of Russia quitted St. Petersburg, took the command of his army, and moved his head quarters to Wilna. Early in May, the first corps, under Davoust, arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing and Marienburg; the second corps, under Oudinot, at Marienwerder; the third corps, under Ney, at Thorn; the fourth and sixth, under Beauharnois, at Plock; the fifth corps, under Poniatowsky, assembled at Warsaw; the eighth corps, under Junot, on the right of Warsaw; the seventh corps, under Victor, at Pulawy; the ninth and eleventh, between the Elbe and the Oder, under the joint command of Marshals Augereau and Victor; and the tenth, the Prussian contingent, at Riga and Dinabourg, under Macdonald; Murat had the command of the cavalry; Lefevre of the old, and Mortier of the new guards; altogether forming a force of upwards of 400,000 men.

Bonaparte was on the Vistula on the 6th of June, and availed himself of his immense force and imposing situation, to compel the king of Prussia to join in a treaty of alliance; and shortly after passed the borders of the Russian empire: upon which event the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation:—

"The French troops have passed the borders of our empire; a complete treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace I have exhausted every possible means, consistently with the honour of my throne, and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain.
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The Emperor Napoleon has fully resolved in his own mind to ruin Russia. The most moderate proposals on our part have remained without answer. This sudden surprise has shewn in an unequivocal manner, the groundlessness of his pacific promises, which he lately repeated. There therefore remain no further steps for me to take, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence, to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people, and the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the middle of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy. Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders."

In pursuance of the system of retreat and protracted warfare, which had been determined upon by the Emperor Alexander, Wilna, his head-quarters, was evacuated, and its magazines destroyed. Bonaparte entered this place on the 28th June.

The Russian armies continued to fall back and concentrate themselves. Bonaparte was therefore compelled to alter his first dispositions, which harassed his armies by useless marches. The head-quarters were at length established at a fortified camp at Drissa, from whence the Emperor issued several animating general orders.

On the Russian army breaking up from the Drissa, the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation:—

"Beloved subjects! In pursuance of the policy advised by our military council, the armies will, for the present, quit their positions, and retire farther into the interior, in order the more readily to unite. The enemy may possibly avail himself of this opportunity to advance; he has announced this intention. Doubtless, in spite of his boast, he begins to feel all the difficulties of his menaced attempts to subjugate us, and is anxious, therefore, to engage; he is desperate, and would therefore put every thing upon the issue of a battle. The honour of our crown, the interests of our subjects, prescribe, however, a different policy: it is necessary that he should be made sensible of the madness of his attempt. If, urged by the
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desire of obtaining provisions and forage, or goaded by an insatiable cupidity for plunder, he should be blind to the danger of farther committing himself at such an immense distance from his territories, it would become the duty of every loyal Russian, every true friend of his country, to co-operate cheerfully with us, in impeding equally his progress, or his retreat, by destroying his supplies, his means of conveyance, in short, every thing which can be serviceable to him. We therefore order that such of our subjects in the provinces of Vitepsk and Pskoy, as may have articles of subsistence, either man or beast, beyond their immediate want, to deliver them to officers authorized to receive them, and for which they shall be paid the full value out of the imperial treasury. The owners of growing crops within the distance of the line of the enemy's march, are commanded to destroy them, and they shall be reimbursed their loss. The proprietors of magazines, either of provisions or clothing, are required to deliver them to the commissaries for the use of the army, and they will be liberally remunerated. In general, the spirit of this order is to be carried into execution in regard to all articles, whether of subsistence, of clothing, or of conveyance, which may be considered useful to the invaders; and the magistrates are made responsible for the due fulfilment of these our commands.

“ALEXANDER.”

On the 23d of July, the advanced guard of the Russian army, commanded by Prince Bragation, reached Daschkova, where it was attacked by Marshals Davoust and Mortier, with five divisions of the French army. Notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the enemy, the Russian troops repulsed them twice, and pushed them as far as the village of Nowossilka: here the battle was continued, and lasted from nine in the morning until six in the evening. The loss of the French exceeded five thousand men; that of the Russians amounted to nearly three thousand.

The Emperor Alexander was now at Polotzk, ordering the formation of battalions of reserve in the interior of the empire, and calling upon the Russians to rise *en masse*, for the defence of their country.

After the defeat of Davoust, the following ukase was issued:—

“The enemy has entered our territories, and continues
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to carry arms into the interior of Russia, hoping with his strength and his wrath to disturb the tranquillity of this mighty empire. He has formed in his mind the base determination to destroy the glory and prosperity of our country. With cunning in his heart, and deceit on his lips, he is bringing everlasting chains and fetters into it. We have called on the Almighty for assistance, and have appealed to him for our defence. Our armies glow with valour to crush him, to defeat him, and to drive from the face of our country all those who may remain undestroyed. On their fortitude and strength we place our firmest hopes; but we neither can nor ought to conceal from our loyal subjects, that the forces of the different nations he has assembled are great, and that his temerity demands our most valiant and resolute exertions. With all the strong hopes we place in our gallant army, we therefore deem it a matter of absolute necessity to assemble new forces in the interior of the empire, which, striking the enemy anew with terror, will form a second barrier, in support of the first, to defend the homes, the wives, and children, of every one and all. We have called on our metropolis of Moscow, and we now call on our loyal subjects of all classes and ranks, both ecclesiastical and civil; recommending them, together with us, individually and generally, to rise and co-operate against all hostile designs and attempts. At every step shall he find the loyal sons of Russia combating them with all their strength and all their means, without attending to his wiles and deceit. In every nobleman shall he find a Pajarskoi; in every ecclesiastic, a Palitzin; in every citizen, a Minin. Most eminent nobility of Russia! it is ye that at all times have been the saviours of your country. Most holy synod and clergy! ye have always, with your fervent prayers, called down blessings on your country.

“ People of Russia! ye valiant descendants of the brave Slavonians, how often have ye dashed the teeth of lions and tigers that were rushing upon you. With the cross in your heart, and the sword in your hand, no martial force can vanquish you.

“ For the first formation of the before-mentioned forces, it is proposed to the nobility, in all the governments, to assemble the men they intend for the defence of the country,

country, choosing officers from among themselves, and giving information of their number to Moscow, where a commander-in-chief will be appointed.

“ Camp, near Polotsk, July 6 (13), 1812.”

The appeals of the Emperor Alexander to the loyalty of the people had an admirable effect: all ranks throughout the vast empire of Russia appeared to have imbibed an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism; and offers of assistance in raising levies and money were made to Alexander from every quarter of his dominions. The people of Moscow proposed to raise and equip 80,000 men; the government of Smolenzk, 20,000; and the government of Kalgua, 23,000 men, cavalry and infantry: the Emperor's sister also expressed her desire to raise a regiment on her estates; whilst the nobility and peasantry of Russia all flocked to join the standard of the Emperor.

The following letter was written by her Imperial Highness the Grand Princess Catherine Pawtowna (Sister to the Emperor) to the Minister of the Home Department.

“ *Douitrije Alexandrowitch,*

“ At a time when every Russian subject is inspired with love for their native country, and devotion for its monarch, which has awakened their ardour for the greatest sacrifices—at a time when, to repulse the enemy and preserve the general safety, it is necessary to make great sacrifices and use every exertion—I have not been able to repel the feelings of my heart, in taking an active part in furnishing the means of supply for our warlike preparations. After having applied to his Imperial Majesty, my beloved Lord and Brother, for his approbation and permission, I have to turn to you, and through your assistance carry into effect a purpose I have conceived, from the most unbounded zeal for the honour and welfare of my beloved country, and for the most affectionate love for its monarch. It is my wish to raise, on my hereditary estates, a certain number of warriors (1200 men), to whom separate regulations will be given by me, and whom I will arm and maintain at my own expence. I have not the least doubt but that, according to the instructions you will cause to be given, this conscription will be performed with the greatest success; and that those who shall be selected for the defence of their
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their religion and country will, by their distinguished zeal, soon become equal to older warriors. I remain your's, sincerely,

“ EKATERINA.”

The Emperor Alexander's answer, in his own hand-writing.

“ I receive this proposal with the most grateful thanks,
(Signed) “ ALEXANDER.”

Prince Bragation, having continued his march in the direction of Smolenzk, where he joined the grand army, the French obtained possession of Mohiloff. The vicinity of Polotzk was also, about this time, the scene of severe contest. Marshal Oudinot having crossed the Duna, with a view, it is supposed, of coming round upon Riga, was attacked by General Witgenstein, on the 17th of August, and a most murderous affair ensued. In point of numbers, the Russians were greatly inferior; yet the fortune of the day was their's. They pursued the enemy even to the town, and continued the battle in the streets, until the darkness of the night put an end to it. In this engagement, Oudinot received a severe wound in his shoulder; and the command of his army was entrusted to Gouvion de St. Cyr. The loss of the enemy was not less than 7000 killed and wounded, and 2600 prisoners; that of the Russians comparatively trifling.

Notwithstanding these, and many other smaller instances of success, attending the Russian armies whenever a stand was made, still the system of protracted warfare was judged to be the most conducive to the ultimate destruction of the invaders.

The following proclamation of the Emperor Alexander, published in general orders, by the commander-in-chief, General Benningsen, displays the steady policy of Russia to continue retiring, and even to give up Moscow, rather than hazard a general engagement, except upon very favourable terms.

“ Russians! the enemy has quitted the Dwina, and has proclaimed his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he, then, have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Dinabourg and Mire; wherever, in short, it has been

deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate counsels are alone compatible with the enterprise he has undertaken, and the dangers of his situation: but shall we, therefore, be imprudent, and forego the advantages of our own? He would march to Moscow—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of thirty millions? Distant from his resources nearly 800 miles, he would, even if victorious, not escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction, rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcilable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat?

“Russians! rely on your Emperor, and the commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosoms of his soldiers, at the boast of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle, that they grieve at its being deferred, and at the thought of retiring. This cruel necessity will not exist long. Even now the period of its duration lessens. Already are our allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader; while he, inveigled too far to retreat with impunity, shall soon have to combat with the seasons, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians. Soldiers! when the period for offering battle arrives, your Emperor will give the signal, will be an eye-witness of your exploits, and reward your valour.

(Signed) “ALEXANDER.”

On the 17th of August, at one in the afternoon, the enemy attacked the troops of the first Russian army, which were drawn up on the road from Krasnoy, and other points round Smolenzk, for the purpose of covering the march of the second army to Dorogabouche. After an engagement which continued without intermission for three hours, the French were repulsed at every point. They then brought a strong column of their forces, and an uncommonly numerous artillery, with which they attacked the city in every direction; but all their efforts and endeavours were in vain, although they drove back the Russian advance-troops even to the ruins of the walls of Smolenzk, and appeared determined to storm

storm the city. The Russians lost 4000 killed and wounded; the French suffered in a much greater proportion.

On the night of the 17th, a dreadful conflagration broke out in the town; and, after midnight, it was abandoned by the Russians, who retired across the river. It was occupied on the 18th by the invaders, who at length succeeded in extinguishing the fire.

On the 19th, the French, crossing the Dnieper, made an attack on the Russian rear-guard, the last column of which retreated to the second army, which was posted on the heights of Valentina. An action was brought on, to force this position, in which a considerable number of troops was engaged on each side; it terminated in the unmolested retreat of the Russians, according to their plan.

At the commencement of the invasion of Russia, it appeared to have been the design of the French Emperor to make a push at once for Petersburg, probably supposing that the imminent danger or capture of this metropolis, would terminate the war. But the plan pursued by the Russian commanders, to draw the principal force of their antagonist towards the Dnieper, necessarily changed that of the invader, whose object now became the possession of the ancient capital of the empire, Moscow, to which Smolenzk is in the direct road, and at a less distance from it than from Wilna. It was therefore particularly necessary, for the further progress of the invading army, that it should occupy the last-mentioned city.

On the 29th General Caulincourt entered Viasma, a considerable town on the Moscow road; and the Russians had taken a strong position at the village of Moskwa, between Ghijat and Mojaisk.

The Emperor Alexander having, at this period, concluded a peace with Turkey, he was induced to appoint General Barclay de Tolly to the management of the war department, and General Kutusoff to be commander-in-chief of all his armies.

General Kutusoff arrived at the head-quarters, at Zarevo-Zalomitchi, on the 29th of August. He found the first and second armies retreating upon Gchatz, after having abandoned Viasma, to which they had set fire.

The retreat was continued, in order to obtain a more favourable situation for offensive measures, and to give time for the junction of the reserves, commanded by General Miloradovitch, and the militia of the government of Moscow, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Count Markoff, at Mojaisk.

General Kutusoff determined to wait for the enemy at Borodino, situated twelve wersts in advance of Mojaisk.

At day-break, on the 7th of September, the French made an attack on the whole Russian position: and the battle lasted from seven o'clock in the morning until ten at night, with an unexampled obstinacy. The French, commanded by Bonaparte in person, were repulsed at all points, and compelled to retire in the beginning of the night, leaving the Russians masters of the field of battle. In this sanguinary combat, the Prince of Bragation, commander-in-chief of the second army, received a severe wound, which shattered to pieces his left leg. He was afterwards removed to Moscow; and, at the approach of the enemy, the Governor Rastapchin had him conveyed with the sick and wounded from that city, when he died on the road. He was an amiable and a meritorious officer.

The loss of the enemy in this battle amounted, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to 50,000 men. Marshal Davoust was wounded; the General of Brigade, Bonami, made prisoner; and Generals Caulincourt and Montbrun killed. That of the Russians, to 32,000: besides the Prince Bragation, the Major-General Count Woronzoff, Lieutenant General Tutchkoff, Prince Garchikof, and Konovintzen, the Major-Generals Backmetioff, Rajessky, and Kreteff, were among the wounded.

The following is an epitome of what was considered the most correct account of the battle of Borodino, as circulated at St. Petersburg, which, we think, cannot but be interesting to our readers, when it is recollected that this battle immediately preceded the capture of Moscow by the French, from which may be dated the commencement of Napoleon's overthrow:—

“The Russian army continued its retreat upon the village of Borodino, between Mojaisk and Irisk, on the high Moscow road. It was here reinforced by 13,000 effective men, under General Miloradovitch, and 21,000 militia,

militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under General Markoff. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to 105,000 effective men; the French army amounted to 130,000, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

“Bonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favourable moment for attacking the Russians on their march from Smolenzk to repass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle, on the 5th of September. It is possible, that the appointment of Prince Kutusoff had baffled his hope of peace; and that he found himself now obliged to effect that by force, which he was in hopes to have obtained by the influence of fear on the Russian cabinet. Certain it is, that he himself regretted his former neglect of opportunity, and that he said, ‘I have lost one of the most brilliant occasions of my life.’

“Prince Bragation’s army sustained the Russian left, but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns on a hill covered the advance of Prince Bragation’s army, which I shall in future call the second army.

“The action was begun about two o’clock in the afternoon of the 6th of September, and was furiously fought on both sides until near dark, when the enemy possessed himself of the hill and battery, and obliged the second army to retire, and take up its position in alignment with the first army, keeping some hills in its front, on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 7th, the French, with all their force, again fell upon Prince Bragation; after a desperate resistance, broke in upon him, obliged him to retreat in some disorder; and the reserves of the first army were under the necessity of moving to the left and front, to cover his works, and oppose the enemy, which service was effectually executed; and the second army being rallied again, advanced into battle, and in its turn supported the troops that had covered it. The Russian line was, however, obliged to throw back its left a little, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and right. At the salient point of this angle was a battery, which, if taken and kept by the enemy, would have commanded the whole Russian position, and obliged a retreat. Bonaparte
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finding that the Russians remained steady, notwithstanding the tremendous artillery cross-fire, resolved to have this work carried. Various attempts were made during the day, by the cavalry and infantry; but they were always repulsed. Towards nine o'clock in the morning, General Bonami had, however, lodged himself in the battery, in front of the Russian left; but General Gormouloff, seizing the command of a column (for he was a staff-officer), rushed upon the battery, re-carried it, and put every man in it to the bayonet, except General Bonami, who fairly escaped with twenty wounds, one of which struck into his breast. Towards dusk the enemy's force retired, abandoning the battery, which he had again carried about four o'clock in the afternoon, and which battery had been taken and retaken three times during the day. He gradually withdrew back upon some works in his rear, out of cannon-shot, and from thence fell back about two wersts and a half with his main body, giving orders for his heavy guns, &c. to retire upon Mojaïsk. The Russian army remained upon the field until the next evening, whence Prince Kutusoff fell back three wersts with his main body, and left General Platoff with his Cossacks to occupy the ground in front of Borodino.

" Thus terminated, in the field, the memorable battle of Borodino: and so far it resembled the battle of Preuss Eylau—but not in its consequences; for Eylau preserved Königsberg, whereas Borodino accelerated the loss of Moscow. I am, however, inclined to think, that Borodino, theoretically, was in the field a more decisive victory than Eylau, as the Russians there quitted the ground during the same night, whereas, at Borodino, it was the enemy who withdrew.

" It, however, greatly differed from Eylau in its progress: for Borodino was a battle on points; Eylau was a parade battle, general throughout the line, and covering every man in the field with its iron canopy. The Russians had more than 600 guns in the field, but the fire was sustained by about 268 pieces.

" The loss at Borodino to the Russian army was, perhaps, severe; as it now appears, that 25,000 were killed or wounded (at least one-half killed), and above 1500 officers, of whom three generals were killed and nine wounded.

" The



The Hetman Platoff

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“ The loss of the enemy could not but be far greater ; calculation so far could not err : but it now appears, from their own correspondence, that they estimate their loss at twenty-six generals *hors de combat* (of whom seven were killed), and 35,000 men.”

The distinguished veteran Prince Kutusoff was now appointed Field-Marshal, with a grant of 100,000 roubles. His Imperial Majesty also ordered five roubles to be given to each soldier who had a share in this memorable battle.

The Russian general found it necessary to retire a short distance on the Moscow road, and proposed to make a stand within two or three wersts of Moscow : the position chosen, however, was judged unfavourable. He therefore continued his retreat to a strong position near Podolsk and Wakadesk, twenty miles beyond Moscow, leaving the enemy to enter the city, which was done by his advanced guard on the 14th of October.

Previous to the entrance of the enemy, all the valuables and property were removed from the city ; the magazines, stores, &c. set fire to ; and that the latter object might be successfully accomplished, every fire-engine was removed. The Governor Rastapchin had concerted these measures with the Russian commander-in-chief, and persuaded forty thousand of the inhabitants to follow him to the army. The others fled in all directions, and few remained to witness the entry of the French, who committed the greatest barbarities.

Very shortly after the entry of the French, a general conflagration spread through the city, and a scene of horror commenced, difficult to conceive and impossible to describe. There are various opinions with respect to the origin of the fire. It has been asserted by those assuming authority for their information, that the Governor Rastapchin, from patriotic motives, gave orders to set the city on fire, to prevent the enemy finding a shelter in it during the winter, and being able to obtain terms from the Emperor for its deliverance. Prince Kutusoff, in his conversation with Lauriston, which will be presently detailed, satisfactorily repels the charge.

Two residences in Moscow belonging to Rastapchin, were destroyed ; yet this true patriot, on the approach of the enemy, set fire with his own hands to his country-seat

seat at Voronovo, to prevent their gaining possession of it. This was a most superb mansion, on which its possessor had laid out immense sums of money. The following letter was written, and left by him on the occasion :—

“ I have for eight years established this country-house, and I have lived happily in it, in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of the estate to the number of 1720 quit it at your approach ; and I set fire to my house, that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I have abandoned to you my two Moscow houses, with furniture, worth half a million of roubles ; here you will only find ashes.

“ COUNT FEDOR RASTAPCHIN.”

It may not be uninteresting to our readers to have the following short account of the destroyed city.

“ The circumference of Moscow, taken without the ramparts, is somewhat more than twenty-six miles. The city is distributed into five divisions ; the Kremlin, Khitaigorod, Bielgorod, Semlainogorod, and Sloboda. The first-named division, the Kremlin, is an assemblage of wonders ; it is surrounded by walls, towers, and ramparts, on all sides, and is filled with domes and steeples : the edifices within its bounds are all constructed with such strange irregularity, that the appearance differs in every direction ; but the view from its heights of the city much surpasses any other, both for splendour and singularity, and that from the tower of St. Ivan surpasses all. The Kremlin is entered through an arched portal, painted red, and called the Holy Gate : and no person, of any rank or description, may be permitted to pass this entrance unless uncovered ; so much of superstitious reverence is paid to it, on account of a favourite Russian saint whose picture is suspended there, and who, tradition affirms, did, like another Pan, strike terror into an invading army of Poles, who had possession of the city, and were on the point of forcing this portal. The great bell of Moscow, the largest in the world, lies in a deep pit in the midst of the Kremlin. It was founded by order of the Empress Ann, as an act of piety, and was never suspended. Dr. Clarke describes it very accurately, and agrees nearly with the account given by Jonas Hanway
of

of its dimensions. The ancient palace of the Czars is within these ramparts, remarkable for being the birth-place of Peter the Great; the scene of the murders committed by the Strelitzes, in the well-known conspiracy during the minority of Peter; the butchery of John Nariskin; and the fall of Demetrius. There is also here a gun of immense calibre, supposed to be cast in 1604. The Russians are extremely jealous of strangers examining this prodigious piece of artillery: the dimensions cannot, therefore, be given with any exactness; it is ascertained, however, that its lip is ten inches thick, and it will admit a man of middle stature, sitting upright within its mouth. The treasury and regalia are here, and also the crowns of conquered provinces, *viz.* Casan, Siberia, Astracan, and the Crimea. In the palace are shewn several articles, valuable only from their antiquity, and some trifling specimens in natural curiosity; but what most attracts the wonder and attention of strangers, is the famous model of the Kremlin, planned under the auspices of Catharine the Second, which would have been, if completed, the miracle of the universe. Some accident happening to retard the erection, determined that magnificent princess to relinquish the undertaking. Had the work been completed, it would have exceeded in costliness, magnificence, and beauty, the temple of Solomon, the propylæum of Amasis, the villa of Adrian, or the forum of Trajan. There is nothing in Europe like the various exhibitions presented to the eye in this extraordinary quarter of Moscow—Indian, Chinese, Gothic, Tartarian, richness, elegance, barbarism, decay! in short, it is an assemblage of wonders, and perhaps, forms the most novel and interesting *coup d'œil* in the universe. The patriarch's palace, the cathedral with seven towers, two convents, several churches, and the arsenal, are within the Kremlin.

“ The Khitaigorod, or second division, is much larger than the Kremlin, containing the university, the printing-house, and many other public edifices: in this quarter are the shops of the tradesmen. There is a street in this division in which the houses are built adjoining each other, and the only one in Moscow of this description: the houses are, in general, white-washed, or stuccoed.

“The Bielgorod, or White Town, encircles the two preceding divisions, and takes its name from a white wall, by which it was once surrounded. There is nothing worthy of remark in this portion of Moscow.

“The Semlainorogod environs all the other three divisions, and is encompassed by a circular rampart of earth. The last two divisions are composed of a strange assemblage of contrasted objects, which altogether form a grotesque appearance—churches, palaces, convents, wooden houses, and wretched hovels.

“The Sloboda, or suburbs, form a vast circle round the whole of the divisions already described, and are invested by a ditch and low rampart. The Sloboda contains, besides buildings of every description, delightful gardens, rich pastures, orchards abounding with fruit, and waving corn fields. These luxuriant lands are watered by several small and beautiful lakes, which give rise to the Negaua river; the Moskva, from which this various city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel, navigable only in spring, except for small boats or rafts.

“The streets of Moscow are, in general, long and wide; some of them are paved, but the greater number formed by laying the trunks of trees across, and others are boarded like the floor of a room. There are 1500 places of worship in Moscow, including chapels; the greater part of which are of wood, painted red, with domes of copper or tin, gilt or painted green: they are all richly ornamented within, and the relics, pictures, and statutes of saints and martyrs, are decorated with gold, silver, and diamonds. The cathedral of St. Michael contains the bodies of several of the sovereigns of Russia; and in that of the Assumption of the Virgin, the ceremony of coronation is performed. There is an hospital for foundlings, which will maintain 8000, founded by Catharine the Second. The palace of Perróffsky, the modern royal residence of Moscow, is situated two miles from the city; it bears, at first view, a magnificent appearance, but, on a near approach, is found deficient in that lightness and elegance, without which no architectural beauties can be perfect. It is the most populous city in the vast empire of the Autocrat, containing 250,000 inhabitants; and is the centre of the inland commerce of Europe and Asia.”

The

The Emperor Alexander was not intimidated by the fall of Moscow; on the contrary, it produced in him a more fixed determination to persevere, and refuse every overture to negotiate, either direct or indirect. In the animating proclamation which he issued on the occasion, he observes, "When the oppressed could look to us for an example and a stimulus, shall we shrink from the high commission? No; we bow before the hand that anoints us to be the leaders of the nations in the cause of freedom and virtue."

In the hope of being able to open a negotiation for peace, Bonaparte, shortly after his entrance into Moscow, dispatched General Lauriston to the Prince Kutusoff, when the following singular conference took place.

Lauriston was received by the Russian commander-in-chief in the midst of all his generals. He opened the conference, by saying, that he had been sent to demand an armistice, and to beg the Prince to transmit to his Majesty a letter from Bonaparte, which would contain proposals for peace, in order to cause the cessation of that horrible effusion of blood, which had been shed with so much desperation and barbarity.

The Prince replied, that he was not authorised to receive any proposal either for peace or armistice, and that most certainly he would not receive any letter addressed to his Majesty; that, besides, it was his duty to declare, that the Russian army was in possession of too many advantages to throw them away by an armistice, of which it had no need.

Lauriston observed, that the war must one day come to a termination, for it could not last for ever, especially in the barbarous manner in which it was conducted.

Prince Kutusoff replied, that barbarism had been introduced into hostilities by the French revolutionists, and followed up to the greatest extent by Bonaparte himself. It was true, that the war could not be eternal; but peace could never be talked of till the French were beyond the Vistula. That Russia had not provoked the war; for the Emperor, by falling with all his forces on the magazines and troops in Poland, might have annihilated all the preparations of Bonaparte on the other side of the Vistula, before he was in readiness to commence it; but his Majesty wished neither to disturb the existing tranquillity,

nor to be the aggressor, and, to the last, hoped to preserve peace. That Bonaparte had entered Russia, even without a declaration of war, and devastated a great part of the empire: that he had nothing to do, but to get out of Moscow how he could, since he came thither without being invited; while, on our side, it became an act of duty to do him as much mischief as possible. That when he proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, the Russians viewed it as only commencing; if he did not know this already, he should be soon taught it by experience.

Lauriston. Since then there is no hope of peace, it will be doubtless necessary to march; but, in departing, it will be again necessary to shed the blood of men who are always brave, *since your armies are marching on all sides.*

“I again repeat to you,” replied the Prince, “you of course will adopt such measures as you can, in order to get off; and we, to prevent you. For the rest, the time will come, perhaps, when *we* may arrange matters for your departure, should that be the only subject of discussion.”

Lauriston still complained of the bitterness and fury which had been excited in the people, in order to banish all hope of accommodation, by attributing to the French the burning and ruin of Moscow, while the inhabitants themselves were the authors of that calamity.

The Prince replied, that it was the first time he had ever heard of complaint being made against the enthusiasm and devotion to their country of a whole people, who defended their homes against an enemy by whom they were attacked, and who by so doing had excited that animosity and fury now complained of, but which on the contrary could not be too much extolled and appreciated. “With regard to the burning of Moscow,” said the Prince, “I am too old, I have had too much experience in war, and possessed too much of the confidence of the Russian people, not to be daily and hourly informed of what was passing in Moscow. I myself ordered the destruction of some magazines; but, from the arrival of the French at Moscow, the Russians destroyed nothing but the stores of the cartwrights, when you adopted the resolution of seizing them, by distributing

buting the carriages at your pleasure. The inhabitants caused very few conflagrations: you proceeded systematically in the destruction of the capital; fixing the particular days, and marking out the quarters which were to be set on fire at fixed periods. I have had an exact account of the whole—it has been followed with precision: and one proof that it was not the inhabitants who ruined Moscow, is, that you destroyed with cannon-shot the houses and other edifices built with too much solidity, hurling balls against them amidst the flames. Undoubtedly we shall endeavour to revenge ourselves.—Our conference is ended.”

The following is stated to be the Sketch of a Conversation between Murat and General Miloradovitch, which took place at the advanced posts of the Russian and French armies, on the 11th October 1812.

Murat. Are you informed, General, of the excesses committed by your Cossacks? They fire upon the foragers whom I send out in different directions; even your peasants, supported by them, massacre our insulated hussars.

Miloradovitch. I am delighted that the Cossacks strictly obey the orders given them. It is also most satisfactory for me to learn, from your Majesty's mouth, that our peasants shew themselves worthy the name of Russians.

Murat. It is contrary to all the hitherto received rules of war; and from this harsh state of things, I shall be compelled to send out columns to the right and left, to protect the foragers.

Miloradovitch. So much the better, Sire: my officers complain of having been three weeks in inaction; they burn with impatience to take cannon, colours——

Murat. But why seek to embitter two nations formed to esteem each other in so many respects?

Miloradovitch. My officers and myself are ready to give you all possible marks of our esteem; but, Sire, your foragers will always be taken, and the columns which you may send to the right and left to protect, shall be beaten.

Murat. You are passionate in words, General: but words do not beat an enemy. Cast your eye on the map;

map; you will then see the country we have conquered, and how far we have penetrated.

Miloradovitch. Charles XII. penetrated still farther; he reached Pultowa.

Murat. The French army has been constantly victorious.

Miloradovitch. But we never fought, except at Borodino.

Murat. That victory opened to us the gates of Moscow.

Miloradovitch. I beg your pardon, Sire; Moscow was abandoned to you.

Murat. At any rate, we are masters of your ancient and immense capital.

Miloradovitch. Yes, Sire; and it is an afflicting thought to every Russian—to myself in particular: I did every thing for the salvation of Moscow. Russia has made to you an immense sacrifice; but she already begins to derive the advantages attached to it.

Murat. How?

Miloradovitch. I perceive that Napoleon has sent Lauriston to our general-in-chief, to treat of peace. I know your soldiers are reduced to satisfy themselves for sixty hours with what is scarcely sufficient to support a man for twenty-four.

Murat. The passports sent to you were a farce.

Miloradovitch (continuing). I see that the King of Naples has come to General Miloradovitch to beg quarter for his foragers, and to set on foot a sort of negotiation to calm the soldiers.

Murat (piqued). My visit was purely accidental; and I meant only to inform you of abuses committed by your troops. Want of discipline is a great misfortune to an army; it has often been its ruin.

Miloradovitch. But in that case you ought rather to encourage it. Precious want of discipline! which makes us shoot the French foragers.

Murat. You greatly deceive yourself with regard to our position. Moscow is abundantly supplied with every thing: we expect immense reinforcements, which are already on the road.

Miloradovitch (laughing). Do you, then, think us farther removed from our reinforcements than you are from your's?

Murat. I have also to complain on a very essential point:

point: I appeal, General, to your justice, and your sense of equity—You have twice fired on our flags of truce.

Miloradovitch. Sire, we want not to hear of parleys; we want to fight, and not to negotiate. Take your measures accordingly.

Murat. What! at that rate, I am not safe even here.

Miloradovitch. You would run a risk, Sire, by coming a second time; but, to-day, I shall have the honour of accompanying you myself as far as the videttes.

The General then called for his horse; and Murat, struck with what had passed, observed, that he had never heard of such a mode of making war. The General replied, he must have heard of it in Spain; and this unexpected retort induced Murat to change the conversation, and politely ask the General, where he had first served in that capacity?

Miloradovitch. Surely, France must still recollect the campaign of Suwarroff, in Italy. I had the honour there often to command the advanced guard of the Generalissimo.

Murat and the General then separated, after shortly conversing about Prince Bragation.

In the following report, Prince Kutusoff explains to the Emperor the circumstances which compelled him to abandon Moscow:—

“After the sanguinary, though victorious battle, fought by your Majesty’s troops on the 26th of August (7th September), I was obliged to leave my position near Borodino, for reasons which I already have had the happiness to inform your Majesty. After that battle, the armies were much weakened: under such circumstances we approached Moscow, having daily much fighting with the enemy’s advanced guard. The reinforcements which I hoped to meet with had not yet arrived. The enemy formed two new columns, one on the Borosk, and the other on the Zwenigorod roads, with a view of acting against my reserve near Moscow. In consequence of this, I could not risk another battle, the issue of which would not only have been destructive to the army, but would have reduced Moscow to ashes. In this truly lamentable situation, and after consulting my generals, amongst whom there were some of a different opinion, I was compelled to let the enemy enter Moscow; out of
which

which all the valuables, the stores in the arsenals, and almost all other property, imperial or private, were previously conveyed; and scarcely a single inhabitant remained in the town. I take the liberty most humbly to represent to your Majesty, that the entrance of the enemy into Moscow is not yet the annihilation of the empire. I am making a movement with my army towards the Toula road. This will enable me to keep open my communications with the neighbouring governments: any other measure would have prevented this, and also have separated me from the armies of Tormazoff and Tchi-chagoff. I must confess, that the abandonment of the capital is very hard; but, considering the advantages which may accrue to us from it, and particularly the preservation of our armies, it is no longer to be lamented: and I now proceed to occupy with my forces a line by which I shall command the roads leading to Toula and Kalouga, annoy the whole line of the enemy extending from Smolenzk to Moscow, and be enabled to cut off all reinforcements marching to join him from the rear. By thus occupying the attention of the enemy, I hope to compel him to leave Moscow, and to change his whole line of operations.

“General Winzingerode has received orders from me to post himself on the Twer road, and to detach a regiment of Cossacks on that to Yaroslaff, to protect the inhabitants from being molested by small bodies of the enemy. I am at no great distance from Moscow; and, as soon as I have collected my troops, I can with confidence await the approach of the enemy. As long as the army of your Imperial Majesty is entire, and animated with its known courage and zeal, the loss of Moscow is not yet the loss of the empire. For the rest, your Majesty may be assured, that this event is the necessary consequence of the loss of Smolenzk.”

On the 18th October, Prince Kutusoff defeated the French under Murat, who with 45,000 men was advancing towards the south; and, on the following day, Bonaparte quitted Moscow, which on the 22d was re-entered by the Russians. On the expulsion of the enemy, the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation:—

“Russians! at length the enemy of our country, the foe of its independence and freedom, has experienced a
portion

portion of that terrible vengeance which his ambitious and unprincipled aggression had aroused. From the period of his march from Wilna, his armies, great in number, assured in valour and discipline, and elated at the remembrance of victories gained in other regions, threatened no less than the entire subjugation of the Russians. The system which we had thought fit to adopt strengthened that confidence. The sanguinary battles fought on his route, and which gave him temporary possession of Smolenzk, flattered him with all the illusions of victory. He reached Moscow, and he believed himself invincible and invulnerable. He now exulted in the idea of reaping the fruit of his toils; of obtaining for his soldiers comfortable winter-quarters; and of sending out from thence, next spring, fresh forces to ravage and burn our cities, make captives of our countrymen, overthrow our laws and holy religion, and subject every thing to his lawless will. Vain presumptuous hope! Insolent, degrading menace! A population of forty millions, attached to their sovereign and country, and devoted to their religion and laws, the least brave man of whom is superior to his unwilling confederates and victims, cannot be conquered by a heterogeneous force, which he could muster, even of treble its late amount.

“ Scarcely had he reached Moscow, and attempted to repose amidst its burning ruins, when he found himself encircled by the bayonets of our troops. He then, too late, discovered, that the possession of Moscow was not the conquest of the empire; that his temerity had led him into a snare, and that he must choose between retreat or annihilation: he preferred the former, and behold the consequences.

“ Russians! the Almighty has heard our wishes, and crowned your efforts with success. Every where the enemy is in motion; for disorderly movements betrayed his apprehensions: gladly would he compound for safety; but policy and justice alike demand the terrible infliction. The history of his daring must not be told without the terrible catastrophe by which it was attended. An hundred thousand men sacrificed to his frantic presumption, attest your valour and devotion to your country, and must deter him from a repetition of his impracticable design. Much, however, yet remains to be done, and

that is in your power. Let the line of his retreat be rendered memorable by your honest indignation: destroy every thing which can be of service to him, and our commanders have orders to remunerate you; render your bridges, your roads, impassable; in fine, adopt and execute the suggestions of a brave, wise, and patriotic heart, and shew yourselves deserving the thanks of your country and your sovereign.

“Should the remains of the enemy’s force escape to our imperial frontiers, and attempt to winter there, they must prepare to encounter all the rigours of the clime and season, and the valorous attacks of our troops. Thus, harassed, exhausted, and defeated, he shall for ever be prevented from renewing his presumptuous attempt.”

The Russian people so well performed the directions of their magnanimous Emperor, that it was not only on the troops that the Prince Kutusoff had to rely for the destruction of the enemy, who, in his retreat, was so incessantly impeded by their attacks, that it was not until the 9th of November Bonaparte was able to reach Smolenzk.

Every day was signalized by some success. On the 3d of November the French were defeated at Viasma, by General Miloradovitch, supported by Platoff, with the loss of 6000 killed and wounded, and 2000 prisoners. On the 4th, the enemy were pursued beyond Viasma by the Cossacks, who brought in 1000 prisoners.

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th of November, Beauharnois, who commanded the fourth corps of the army, was attacked and defeated, with a total loss of all their artillery and ammunition, 3000 prisoners, and a still more considerable number in killed and wounded.

The losses the French were now daily sustaining, and the distress they were suffering in their retreat, drove them so completely to despair, that numbers surrendered themselves without resistance; others, incapable of further exertion, laid down on the road side, and perished with cold, hunger, and fatigue.

As we shall have hereafter occasion to describe many of the particular actions in which the future subjects of our Memoirs were principally engaged in this wonderful campaign, we shall at present confine ourselves to the reports

reports and proclamations of the commander-in-chief, Prince Kutusoff, to illustrate its progress.

In the parole orders of the 10th November, issued by the Prince to his army, is the following admirable paragraph:—

“ After these extraordinarily great successes, which we daily and every where are gaining over the enemy, nothing more remains for us to do than to pursue him rapidly; and then, perhaps, the Russian land, which he thought to subjugate, may be strewed with his bones. Let us therefore pursue him, without giving him any rest. The winter, accompanied with frost and snow, is approaching; but what have you hardy children to fear from it? Your breasts of steel fear neither the severity of the weather, nor the malice of the enemy: they are the safe walls of your native country, against which all attempts must fail. You are likewise adequate to the support of any temporary wants, in case that such should take place. Good soldiers prove themselves such by fortitude and patience, of which the veterans set examples to the younger soldiers. May every one keep Suwarroff in remembrance: he taught how to bear hunger and frost, when a victory, or the glory of the Russian nation was in view. Let us go on: God is with us. Before us is the beaten enemy—and may peace and happiness be behind us!”

On the 15th of November, the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation:—

“ It is well known to the whole world, in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have been resorted to, by the punctual fulfilment of peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immoveable. With peaceful promises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length, having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wirtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country.”

country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property—the towns and villages set on fire—the smoking ruins of Moscow—the Kremlin blown up into the air—the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed—in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought, by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady; and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagances. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, into the heart of Russia.

“The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw, in the reflection of the flames of Moscow, the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But, great and mighty is the God of Justice! the triumph of the enemy was of short duration. Pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity he had ventured too far, and that he would not, either by his valiant army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he has seen his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he now, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight. He flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the swiftness of his flight. Thou-
sands

sands of fugitives daily fall to the earth, and expire. In such manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praiseworthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude to the First Cause of all Good—the Almighty God; and, in the next place, we have to express our thanks in the name of our common country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline; for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in the work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily-raised levies, and have shewn a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have, with the same force and intrepidity, penetrated the enemy's regiments, with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up the fields. In this manner, the troops of levies sent from Petersburg and Novogorod, for the strengthening of the forces under Count Witgenstein, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotzk, and other places.

“ We have, besides, and with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived, by the reports of the commander-in-chief of the armies, and from other generals, that in several engagements, and particularly in those of Moscow and Kalouga, the country-people have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts at reducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them, with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprises and attacks against the enemy. Many villagers have secreted their families and tender infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hand and inconceivable courage (under engagements on the Holy Gospel not to leave each other in danger), defended themselves, and
whenever

whenever the enemy shewed himself have fallen upon him: so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women; and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.

“ So high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well-founded hopes; whilst we, jointly with the true church and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God’s assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God’s temple and holiness, should not be entirely and totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, will bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.

“ Meanwhile, we hold it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to express our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation; and thereby render it due justice.”

On the 20th November, Bonaparte intended to proceed from Orcha to Minsk, where he hoped to arrive before the Russians. He, however, was continually harassed on his right flank by Count Kutusoff; and, in the course of a week, lost nearly 6000 prisoners, and about the same number killed, by the enemy or the severity of the weather.

Upon reaching the Berezina his army was reduced to 60,000 men. He caused a bridge to be thrown over the river at Keubin, and crossed immediately. The horrors of this passage will ever be remembered by the French army. At its commencement numbers were drowned; but, on the appearance of the Russian army, the confusion was beyond all description. The whole army pressed forward, without the least order: every thing was lost sight of but the wish to escape from the Russian army, whose batteries at length began to fire from the bridge and banks of the river, and stopped the further progress of the enemy. At a moderate computation, the French lost, in the passage of the Berezina, upwards of 20,000 men, killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners.

From the period of passing the Berezina to their arrival
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at Wilna on the 9th December, the French were incessantly pursued and attacked by Admiral Tchichagoff's force; and 150 pieces of cannon, upwards of 700 boxes of cartridges, and an immense number of baggage-wagons, were taken by the Russians. Two standards, some generals, and several thousand prisoners, were also taken. The enemy's rear-guard was so much cut to pieces, that his flight was continued in the utmost disorder, and without any defence. His men dropped down with faintness, and surrendered themselves in despair. The loss of the French amounted to 30,000 men; and the roads were covered with their killed and wounded, and men dying with cold.

On the 22d of December the Emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, which, from its central situation, was particularly well adapted for his Imperial Majesty to direct the movements of the different armies, as circumstances might require.

The following is a statement of the captures made by the Russians, up to the 26th of December:—Up to the 20th of December, were taken, 33 generals, 900 officers, 143,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 746 pieces of cannon; from the 20th to the 25th of December, one general, 156 officers, 9754 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 168 pieces of cannon. Besides, there were taken at Wilna, 7 generals, 242 officers, 14,756 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 217 pieces of cannon.—TOTAL, 41 generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 1131 pieces of cannon.

The French were unremittingly pursued over the Prussian frontier, when the following declaration was issued by the Russian Commander-in-Chief:—

“ At the moment of my ordering the armies, under my command, to pass the Prussian frontier, the Emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.

“ Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his Imperial Majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterised his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence

Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. These his Majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is to Prussia in particular to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his Imperial Majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her King the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the monarchy of Frederick, its *éclat* and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian Majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part alone, which the wishes of his people, and the interests of his states demand. Under this conviction, the Emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders, to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which, for a short time, must result from their occupation.

(Signed) “ The Marshal Commander-in-Chief
of the Armies,
“ PRINCE KUTUSOFF SMOLENZK.”

Proclamation.

“ When the Emperor of all the Russias was compelled by a war of aggression, to take up arms for the defence of his states, his Imperial Majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations, was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs; and when the commander-in-chief, Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the Sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art (too much resorted to in modern wars) of exaggerating, by false statements, the

the success of her arms. But, with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive that, in a campaign of only four months' duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides 900 pieces of cannon, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon-train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the generals taken is hereunto annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken. It is sufficient to say, that out of 300,000 men (exclusive of Austrians), who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not 30,000 of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the Emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontier can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have always formed the basis of his policy; for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and to throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their government whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself: it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

We must also insert the very interesting order of the day issued by the Marshal General Kutusoff Smolenzk to the troops, from Wilna, on the 2d January.

" Brave and victorious troops! you are at last upon the frontier of the empire. Each of you have been the preserver of the country: Russia has betowed upon you this title. The rapid pursuit of the enemy, and the extraordinary difficulties that you have supported in this

campaign, astonish all nations, and have acquired for you immortal glory. Such brilliant victories are without example. During two whole months, your hand has daily punished the miscreants. The road that they have pursued is strewn with dead bodies. Their Chief, in his flight, sought for his personal safety alone. Death has raged in their ranks: thousands fell together and perished. Thus has the wrath of the Almighty burst over them; and thus hath He protected his people.

“Not resting ourselves in the midst of our heroic actions, we must still proceed farther; we must pass our frontiers, and endeavour to accomplish the defeat of the enemy in the face of their allies. But we will not follow the example of their rage and frenzy, which disgrace the soldier. They have burnt our habitations, have violated our sanctuaries! but you have beheld in what manner the arm of the Almighty has punished their impiety. Let us be liberal, and make a distinction between the enemy and peaceable inhabitants! Justice and clemency towards the latter will manifest most certainly that we do not seek to enslave them, nor aspire to a vain glory; but that our object is, to free from misery and destruction even those who have taken arms against Russia. The constant desire of his Majesty the Emperor is, that the tranquillity of the inhabitants be not disturbed, and that their property remain in perfect safety. At the same time that he makes known this his sacred desire, he firmly relies that each soldier will pay the utmost attention thereto, and that not one of them will dare to forget it: and I call upon the commanders of corps and divisions, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, in order that they may strictly adhere to this instruction.”

The Emperor Alexander issued the following admirable proclamation on the 6th of January, at Wilna. The noble sentiments it contains cannot fail at all times to inspire an universal interest in the great character from whom they emanated.

“God and all the world are witnesses with what objects the enemy entered our dear country. Nothing could avert his obstinate and malevolent intentions. Proudly calculating on his own force, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by desire of conquest and thirst for blood,
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he hastened to penetrate even into the bosom of our great empire, to spread amongst us the horrors and all the misery of a war of devastation, and to come upon us by surprise, but for which he had long been preparing. Having foreseen, by former proofs of his unmeasured ambition and the violence of his proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers with a fury which nothing could arrest, we have been compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart, in invoking the aid of God, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire, that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of bravery, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude, has not Russia shewn? The enemy, who penetrated into her bosom with all his characteristic ferocity and rage, has not been able to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted.

“It would seem, that with the blood which flowed, her spirit of bravery increased; that the burning villages animated her patriotism; and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the merchants, the people, in a word, all classes, all estates of the empire, breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love equally ardent for their God and for their country. This unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects hardly credible, such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success, which entered our country; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. With force so powerful, he pierces into the heart of Russia, extends himself, and begins to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him? Let us here cite the words of the holy Psalmist—

"I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree.

"I went by, and, lo! he was gone: I sought him, but his place could no where be found."

"*Psalm xxxvii. 36, 37.*

"This sublime sentence is accomplished in all its force on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds which the wind has drawn together? They are dispersed as rain. A great part, wetting the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the governments of Moscow, Kalouga, Smolenzk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part, equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles, with many generals and commanders. In fine, after numerous bloody combats, in the end, whole regiments, imploring the magnanimity of their conquerors, have laid down their arms before them. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia with carcasses, cannons, waggons, and baggage. So that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part of the soldiers, exhausted and without arms, can, with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their country, to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake those rash men, who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of powerful Russia.

"To-day, we inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes, and that what we announced at the commencement of this war is accomplished beyond all measure. There is no longer a single enemy on the face of our territory; or, rather, there they all remain; but in what state?—dead, wounded, and prisoners. Even their proud Chief himself has with the utmost difficulty escaped, with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than 1000 pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands. The scene of the destruction of his armies surpasses all belief. One almost imagines that our eyes deceive

deceive us. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the commander-in-chief of our armies, this distinguished general, who has rendered to his country services for ever memorable, and without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commanders, who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and ardour, nor from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess, that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. Acknowledge, then, Divine Providence in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne; and, evidently seeing his hand chastising pride and impiety, instead of boasting and glorying in our victories, learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will; to resemble not those impious profanators of the temples of God, whose carcases, without number, now serve as food for dogs and crows. God is mighty in his kindness and in his anger. Let us be guided by the justness of our actions, and the purity of our sentiments, as the only path which leads to Him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and there crowned with his hand, thank him for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; addressing to him our ardent supplications, that he will extend to us his favour, and put an end to the war, granting us victory on victory, and the wished-for peace and tranquillity."

On the same day the Emperor issued another proclamation, announcing his intention to erect in Petersburg a church dedicated to Jesus Christ, in eternal remembrance of the unexampled zeal, of the fidelity, patriotism, and love for religion, by which the Russian nation distinguished itself in the time of calamity, and to testify his gratitude to Divine Providence for the preservation of his empire. Towards the erection of this church, the English parliament have voted £5000.

His Imperial Majesty issued many regulations and decrees, during the sixteen or seventeen days he remained at Wilna, for the restoration of order in various provinces which had suffered, and for prevention of disease from the infection of prisoners, and the number of dead bodies and quantity of carrion still above ground. In the neighbourhood of Wilna, sixteen thousand corpses were piled

piled up in heaps, for the purpose of being consumed by fire, when sufficient wood could be procured; numbers were uncollected in the roads and villages; and the mortality in the hospitals at Wilna was for a time very great. The Emperor repeatedly visited all the hospitals.

From Wilna the pursuit was carried on, in separate routes, upon Kowna, by General Witgenstein and the distinguished Hetman Platoff; but the former having taken and destroyed many of the enemy in his line of march, he proceeded to the Niemen and to Younbourg.

In conformity to directions issued by the Russian government for the complete destruction of the dead bodies of men and horses belonging to the enemy, which fell in battle or perished from the cold, and had not been committed to the earth, the following reports were transmitted by the governors of the different provinces:—

In the government of Minsk, up to the end of January, 18,797 dead bodies of men, and 2746 of horses, had been burnt; and there still remained to be burnt, of the former 30,106, and of the latter 27,316, the greater part of which were found on the banks of the Berezina. In the government of Moscow, up to the 15th of February, 49,754 dead bodies of men, and 27,849 of horses, had been burnt, besides a number of others that were buried. In the government of Smolenzk, up to the 2d of March, 71,733 dead bodies of men, and 51,430 of horses, had been committed to the flames. In the government of Wilna, up to the 5th of March, 72,202 dead bodies of men, and 9407 of horses, had been put under ground. In the government of Kalouga, up to the 11th of March, 1017 human corpses, and 4384 dead horses, had been burnt. The sum of the whole was 213,516 human corpses, and 95,816 dead horses, exclusive of many others, either burned or buried, of which no account was taken. The strictest measures have been taken for destroying, before the approach of spring, the dead bodies that may be found in rivers and woods.—*April 20, 1813.*

The Emperor left Wilna in the night of the 7th of January, to join the division of the army which comprised the guards; and the head quarters of the whole army were at Merez on the 10th. On the 13th the Emperor crossed the Niemen, amidst the acclamations of his brave troops, and continued to march with them to

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Lique, where his head-quarters were established on the 19th.

The Russian army, on the 26th, was at Wittenburg, an advance of nearly 126 miles; and a division under Count Woronzoff captured large magazines at Bromberg, which had been collected there by the enemy.

About this time the Emperor Alexander, anxious to recompense, by the most munificent rewards, exertions against the common enemy, appointed Count Rastapchin, the brave and virtuous governor of Moscow, Minister of the Interior of Russia; the ex-Prussian minister Stein, against whom Bonaparte had issued a most furious proclamation, was made a Russian cabinet minister; and all the generals of the Russian army had the most distinguished honours heaped upon them.

On the 6th of February the Emperor arrived at Pölitz, with 28,000 troops. He was received with every demonstration of joy.

On the 8th of February General Miloradovitch took possession of the city of Warsaw; and the citizens immediately called upon their brethren fighting under the banners of the enemy, to return to their homes.

The Austrians were now permitted, by the clemency of the Emperor, to conclude an unlimited truce, in virtue of which they withdrew into Galicia; and the Saxons retired with them into their own country.

The liberal sentiments of the Emperor towards the Prussian monarchy and nation had already insured their attachment. General D'Yorke had concluded a convention, on the 30th of December, by which 15,000 troops under his command were to remain neutral. The Prussians, in every direction, received the Russian army as friends, and provided them voluntarily with provisions of every kind.

On the 15th of February the King of Prussia offered himself as a mediator between the belligerents, and proposed a truce, on terms exceedingly favourable to the beaten and discomfited enemy; they were, however, rejected by Bonaparte. The Prussian patriots, therefore, now crowded around their sovereign at Breslaw, and earnestly insisted on an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia, which, on the 22d of February, was mutually agreed upon by the Emperor of Russia and King
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of Prussia, and a combined plan of military operations arranged.

On the 17th February the Emperor issued the following ukase to his army:—

“ Warriors! the glorious and memorable year has expired, in which, through your unheard-of exploits, the formidable enemy, who, in his arrogance, dared to press forward into the interior of our empire, has been punished and driven back. This year of glory has fled, but your heroic deeds will remain for ever; time shall never sink them in oblivion—they will live in the recollection of posterity. At the expence of your blood, you have rid your native land of the princes and people who were combined against it. Your valorous efforts, your deeds, your perseverance, have procured for you the gratitude of Russia, and the esteem of foreign nations. You have shewn the world, by your valour and your constancy, that when the heart is penetrated with the truths of religion, and full of piety, the assaults of the enemy, though like the stormy waves of the ocean, are dashed in pieces against this impregnable rock, and die away in murmuring foam.

Warriors! to make known by a mark of distinction all such as have co-operated in these great deeds, we have ordered a silver medal to be struck. The ever-memorable year 1812 will be engraven upon it; and, suspended from a blue ribband, it will ornament the manly breast, that impenetrable shield of our native land. Every one of you is worthy of receiving this honourable badge, because all of you have undergone considerable hardships, and are all animated with the same spirit. Proud may you be of having earned this emblem of valour; it will ever distinguish you as the faithful sons of your country. The enemy must tremble when he beholds this honourable badge: he will feel that, under this silver shield, glows unconquerable valour, not leading to avarice or impiety, but which rests its firmest grounds in holy religion, and in unmixed love of our country.

(Signed)

“ ALEXANDER.”

The fortunate alliance now perfected between Russia and Prussia, gave almost a new character to the war. It had hitherto been carried on by the Russians in defence of their country, against its barbarous invaders; it was

now

now to be pursued for the deliverance of Europe from his tyranny.

Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, therefore, on the 25th of March, issued, in the names of their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, the following energetic appeal to the Germans:—

“ While Russia’s victorious warriors, united with those of Prussia, their allies, appear in Germany, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his Majesty the King of Prussia announce to the princes and people of Germany the return of freedom and independence. They come only with the intention of helping them to reconquer those lost but inalienable blessings of nations, and of affording powerful protection and lasting security to the regeneration of a venerable empire. It is this grand object alone, raised far above every selfish view, which dictates and directs the advance of their armies.

“ These armies, under the eyes of both monarchs, and led on by their general, confide in the righteous Disposer of events, and hope to be able to accomplish for the whole world, and irrevocably for Germany, what they have already so gloriously begun for themselves—the destruction of the most ignominious yoke. Full of this spirit, they march forward. Their watchword is honour and independence. Let every German, who would still be thought worthy of that name, unite with them heartily and strongly: let all, be they princes or nobles, or in the lower ranks of life, join heart and hand, with their lives and property, in the Russian and Prussian plans of deliverance. Such a disposition, and such zeal, their Majesties trust, they are entitled to expect from every German, when they view the spirit which the victories of Russia have roused in an awakened world.

“ They invite, therefore, the faithful co-operation of every German prince; and they would gladly anticipate, that none of them, by proving rebellious to the German commonweal, will expose themselves to deserved destruction by the force of open hostilities.

“ The Confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful fetter which the general disturber threw around dismembered Germany, even to the annihilation of her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated, as being the work of foreign constraint, and the instrument of foreign influence.

Their Majesties are confident that they only comply with the universal wishes of the people, when they declare, that the dissolution of this Confederation must be considered as one of their most settled determinations.

“ Herewith, at the same time, is the relation declared in which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias is desirous of standing with regard to renovated Germany, and to its internal constitution.

“ As he wishes to see the annihilation of foreign influence, that relation can be nothing else than extending a protecting hand over a work, the full completion of which can only be accomplished by the princes and people of Germany. The more firmly the foundations and the superstructure of this work arise out of the national spirit of the German people, the more powerfully and the more unitedly will Germany shine forth among the nations of Europe.

“ In fine, his Majesty and his allies, between whom the most complete understanding prevails with regard to the herein-declared resolutions and views, are determined perseveringly to devote their strongest efforts to the glorious object of delivering Germany from a foreign yoke.

“ Let France, who is beauteous and strong within herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting her internal welfare! No foreign power intends disturbing it; no hostile attempt shall be made upon her rightful frontiers. But, be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering lasting tranquillity for their subjects; and that they will not lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European state has been established and secured.”

On the 3d of March the Russian troops had entered Berlin, and were received by an immense concourse of people with kindness and hospitality.

During the month of April the greatest exertions were made by Bonaparte to repair the losses he had suffered, and to bring the whole force of France into action, to support that superiority over the continent which now began to be shaken to its foundations; and his success was so great, that, by the latter end of the month, he had nearly 600,000 men ready for the ensuing campaign on the Elbe and the Rhine.

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General Wittgenstein.

The Russian army, about this time, experienced a severe loss in the death of its brave commander-in-chief, Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, who was left ill on the march at Buntzlan, where he died. Upon this occasion, the following letter was addressed by the Emperor of Russia to the widow of Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, dated Dresden, April 25.

“ Princess Catharine Ilinishina! The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Michael Larionovitz Kutusoff Smolenzk, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not alone for him—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe, and the whole world, will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swelled with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband; and remain your affectionate

“ ALEXANDER.”

General Witgenstein succeeded to the chief command of the army, and, in a few days afterwards gained, on the 2d of May, the battle of Gross-Gorschen, of which the following is too interesting an account to be omitted.

“ On the 30th April, information was received, at General Count Witgenstein’s head-quarters, of the greater part of the army and the French guards having crossed the Saale in the vicinity of Naumberg. It was at the same time reported, that the Emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. We observed that the Viceroy’s army drew to the right. It was therefore clear, that the enemy endeavoured, by all means, to form a junction, and that it was most probably his intention to give a general battle. His Majesty the Emperor Alexander, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, therefore, went to

their armies, to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But, the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with General Von Winzingerode's corps, from Leipzig, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received, of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this, a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May, with the said corps, by which we were convinced that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed that the Viceroy's position was between Leipzig and Halle, and consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was clearly apparent. General Count Von Wittenstein resolved on being beforehand with him, to obstruct him in his dispositions by a bold attack, and to restrain his offensive operations. It was necessary, in this attempt, to make it our main object immediately to fall on such part of his force as was on his side considered to be the best troops, in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of our flying corps, over whom the enemy had lately acquired a superiority. Therefore it was requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against the rearmost troops. For this purpose the main army broke up in the night between the 1st and 2d May, from Notha and Bornä, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. General Von Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation, to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army by the way of Zwenkau.

“ At break of day all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up, in order of battle, on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and the left to that of Gruna. By reconnoitring, we discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not venture to attempt disturbing our march, nor to get before us into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross-Gorschen and Starsiedel.

“ About 12 o'clock at noon, General Blücher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported

supported by a part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross-Gorschen, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. It was taken by storm. General D'York marched with his corps to the right of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps. The enemy, at the same time, displayed a numerous artillery, chiefly of heavy calibre; and the fire of musquetry in the villages was kept up, with great vivacity, for several hours. In this murderous battle the villages of Klein-Gorschen and Rahno, as likewise the village of Gross-Gorschen, were early taken by storm, and with unexampled bravery kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned with considerable force, surrounded, and in part retook these villages; but, on the attack being renewed, was not able to retain possession of them. The Prussian guards moved forward, and, after a most obstinate combat of an hour and a half, those villages were again retaken from the enemy, and remained in our possession. During this time, the corps of General Winzingerode on the left wing, and the corps of General D'York, with a part of the Russian troops under General Berg, had taken a share in the battle. We stood opposed to the enemy, at the distance of 100 paces, and one of the most bloody battles became general.

“ Our reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near seven o'clock in the evening. During its course, the villages on the left wing were likewise several times taken and retaken by both parties. At seven o'clock, the enemy appeared with a new corps on the right wing before Gross and Klein-Gorschen, (probably with the Viceroy's army), made a brisk attack on us, and endeavoured to tear from us the advantages we had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserves was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of General D'York's corps, which was briskly attacked; and a most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery, during the whole remaining time, greatly distinguished itself, as did the corps of D'York, Blucher, and Winzingerode, the whole day), was now continued until night came on. The enemy had
likewise

likewise again attacked our centre and the villages with great briskness, but we maintained our position.

“ In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipzig during the battle. This obliged us to manœuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that we were informed, that in consequence of the battle he had again been forced to quit it; and had, by the same means, lost Halle, and 15,000 of his best troops; many of his cannon were dismounted, and a number of his powder-waggons blown up. Our light detachments are again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained. We have constantly kept the field of battle; the victory is our's, and the intended purpose is accomplished. Near 50,000 of our best troops have not yet been engaged; we have not lost a single cannon: and the enemy must have perceived what can be effected by united national feelings, between two firmly allied nations, in courage and resistance; and that the high hand of Providence protects the just cause of those powers, who have no object but their independence, and to found a durable peace on the freedom of all nations.

“ Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions, did both Russians and Prussians fight for it; and their endeavours will not have been in vain, The loss we have sustained may amount to 10,000 men, but the most of them are only slightly wounded. Among the killed on the Prussian side, we have, among several other staff-officers, to lament the loss of the Prince of Hesse-Homburg. Our wounded are, on the Russian part, General Von Kanovnitzen; and, on the Prussian, General Blucher and Scharnhorst slightly, and Hunerbein dangerously. On the French side, according to the report of the prisoners, we learn that Marshal Bessieres is killed, and Ney and Souham wounded. Upwards of 1000 prisoners are already in, ten pieces of artillery taken, and some thousand musquets captured at Halle. Our light troops are now occupied in pursuing the enemy.

“ Although the numerous villages lying near each other in this territory, and its canals, together with the precaution

tion taken by the enemy never to appear in the open plain, did not afford our cavalry an opportunity of charging in line, yet the Prussian garde-du-corps, and the regiment of Brandenburg cuirassiers, cut down several masses of the enemy's infantry, even amidst the villages, and under his cross-fire, and thereby gained a share in the immortal honour which the Prussian warriors have again obtained in this murderous battle; and in like manner have the Russians proved that they can fight on the German soil, with the same sentiments which insured victory to them in their own country. These are the results of this day, up to the present. God bless our arms! he visibly, and during the battle, protected both our beloved monarchs, who several times exposed themselves to danger, even in the villages where the battle raged the hottest. May he furthermore bless and preserve them to us!"

It not being within the limits of our Work, to give a regular detail of the events of the northern campaigns, we have inserted particular accounts of those only in which the illustrious subject of our Memoir was actively engaged, or by which his character might be more perfectly developed. We shall therefore briefly state, that the severity of the winter campaign, the rapidity of their marches, and the unexampled success that attended their exertions, occasioned, first, an actual diminution of force, to the amount of nearly 100,000 men, and, next, an extension of their armies, over the immense tract of country they had overrun, which had the same effect of rendering their force now brought into action inadequate to oppose the numerical superiority of the enemy. The consequence was, that several severe battles were fought, and won by the bravery of the allied troops, yet they were still obliged to fall back upon their reinforcements. The last of these battles, previous to the armistice now proposed, were fought on the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22d of May 1813, of which the following is the Russian account.

"The advices brought on the 18th uniformly confirmed what had been conjectured from previous reconnoissances, that the enemy had drawn together all his forces to attack the combined army, which was bivouacked between Bautzen and Veissenberg, and which was disposed in the following

following manner. The advanced guard, under the orders of General Miloradovitch, occupied the town and the heights on the left; the corps of General Kleist, in a line with the advanced guard, occupied the heights on the right of the town; these two corps having the defile of the Spree immediately in their front. The corps of General Blucher was posted on the heights of Kreckwitz. The left wing, under the orders of Prince de Gortschakoff, rested on some woody heights. Detachments of cavalry were placed on the heights in the vallies, with which the mountains are intersected, and extended themselves to the frontiers of Bohemia. The Russian guard and the cavalry formed the reserve.

"The same day (the 18th), it was ascertained that the corps of Lauriston had marched from Senftenberg to Hoyerswerda, and had been followed by another corps, which some said to be Victor's, others Sebastiani's. The force of Lauriston was calculated at 14,000 men, the other corps at 20,000 men; they were supposed to be a day's march distant from each other.

"It was immediately decided to march to meet the first corps, and to attack it before it could form its junction near Bautzen. It was hoped that this corps would be beaten before it had time to join the other corps. The troops under the orders of Generals Barclay de Tolly, and D'York, were detached in consequence, in the night of the 18th and 19th, to attack the enemy, who had advanced on the side of Hoyerswerda. They had orders, as soon as the expedition was over, to return immediately to the principal army, to wait with united forces the attack of the enemy in the position chosen for this purpose. Lauriston, however, had already pushed his march towards Bautzen, and had brought up the corps which followed him, in such a manner that they were engaged with the enemy near Koningswarta and Weissig: that is to say, General Barclay near Koningswarta, with the corps of Lauriston; and General D'York, near Weissig, with the corps, much more considerable, which had, drawn near to Lauriston. The enemy was consequently infinitely superior in numbers, and particularly on the side of General D'York: they, however, immediately determined to attack; and, at the same time that General Barclay attacked the corps of Lauriston, General D'York vigorously

vigorously attacked that of Sebastiani, thereby to support General Barclay de Tolly. The combat was warm; it terminated at ten o'clock at night. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 3000 men killed and wounded; seven pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners taken, among whom are the General of Division Peguerie, the Generals of Brigade Martelli, Beletier, and St. Andreas. The expedition was ended with this success; and the two generals, conformably to their instructions, retired towards the position.

"Only six pieces of cannon have been brought away, which arrived with the prisoners, the seventh having been destroyed."

Russian Narrative of the Events of the 20th May.

"On the 20th, the two detached corps were scarcely returned to their position near Gottamelda, when, about noon, the enemy advanced in columns on Bautzen, and attacked, under the protection of a brisk cannonade, the advanced-guard, commanded by Generals Miloradovitch and Kleist. The determination of the latter obstinately to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a most animated and glorious combat. He had to fight an enemy, without exaggeration, four times as strong as himself, yet he did not fall back to the position until four o'clock in the afternoon, after the enemy had entirely turned his left, and after having resisted the most vigorous attacks on his right flank and front. The obstinacy with which the Prussian General Kleist, and the Russian Generals Rüdiger and Roth, and Colonel Marcoff, defended those heights, and the conduct of the troops on the occasion, excited the admiration of the whole army.

"Whilst the attack was made on this point, the enemy was making another on the centre and left; but there also he was vigorously received by Count Miloradovitch and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and constantly repulsed. It being very late, his tirailleurs endeavoured, in the dark, to gain the woody mountains which commanded our extreme left, to alarm us with the fear of being turned on that side. The Prince of Wirtemberg sent some tirailleurs to drive them back. The Emperor sent there Colonel Michand, one of his aides-de-camp, to direct the movements; and the French were driven

back as far as the defile of the mountains by which they made the attack.

“ The engagement which the enemy had maintained on the points before mentioned lasted until ten o'clock at night, with an uninterrupted fire of artillery and musquetry; it must have cost him 6000 men, as he was obliged to force the defile of the Spree under the fire of our cannon and small arms. On the left wing, the corps of the Prince of Wirtemberg fought with the same perseverance and courage as that of General Kleist did on the right.”

On the 21st, the battle was the most bloody and obstinate recorded in military annals. By Sir Charles Stewart's admirable dispatch, dated Golberg, 24th May 1813, we are informed, that the allied army under Count Witgenstein, in position in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, was attacked by the enemy at day-break, commanded by Napoleon in person, who had collected all his forces for this effort. The ground chosen by the allies to resist the enemy's approach, on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains which separates Lusatia from Bohemia, through which Marshal Daun marched to the battle and victory of Hochkirch.

Some strong commanding heights, on which the batteries had been constructed, near the village of Jackowitz, and separated from the chain of mountains by streams and marshy ground, formed the *appui* to the left flank of the position. Beyond and in front of it, many batteries were pushed forward, defended by infantry and cavalry, on a ridge that projected into the low ground near the Spree river. It then extended to the right, through villages which were strongly entrenched across the great roads leading from Bautzen to Hochkirch and Gorlitz; from thence, in front of the village of Bourthewitz, to three or four commanding hills, which rise abruptly in a conical shape, and form strong features: these, with the high ground of Kreckwitz, were strengthened by batteries, and were considered the right point of the line. The ground in the front was favourable for cavalry, except in some marshy and uneven parts, where it would impede its operations. Flechés were constructed, and entrenchments thrown up, at advantageous distances
on

on the plain; along the front of which ran a deep boggy rivulet, which extended round the right of the position. On the extreme right the country was flat and woody, intersected by roads bearing towards the Bober and the Oder. General Barclay de Tolly's corps was stationed here as a manœuvring corps, placed to guard against the enemy's attempts on the right and rear of the allies. The extent of the whole line was between three and four English miles. The different corps occupying it were as follows: General Kleist's and General D'York's, in echelon and in reserve, on the right; General Blücher's, Count Witgenstein's, and General Miloradovitch's, formed on the left; and the guards and grenadiers, and all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre.

The enemy evinced, early in the action, a determination to press on the flanks of the allied armies. He had thrown a very strong corps into the mountains on the left of the allies, which favoured his species of warfare; but General Miloradovitch was prepared here, having detached Prince Carchikoff and Count Osterman with ten battalions of light troops, and a large corps of Cossacks, with their artillery, under Colonel Davidoff, to occupy these hills. After a very strong tirailade in this quarter, and a distant cannonading on the right of the allies, which commenced the action, the enemy began to develop his forces, and to move his different columns of attack to their stations. The contest in the mountains became gradually warmer, and he supported it by a very powerful line of artillery. The Prince of Wirtemberg's and General St. Priest's divisions of General Miloradovitch's corps were here sharply engaged; and a charge of cavalry was executed with success against some guns of the enemy, one of which was taken.

The Emperor Napoleon was now visible on a commanding spot, directing the battle. He deployed in front of the town of Bautzen his guards, cavalry, and lancers, and shewed heavy columns of infantry on the esplanade before it; bringing up, besides, a number of brigades of artillery, with which he occupied some advantageous heights between the position of the allies and Bautzen, that were favourable to the support of his attacks. These demonstrations denoted an effort in this direction; and a

disposition was accordingly made, with General Blucher's corps and the cavalry, to meet it: but an increasing fire and a more lively cannonade on the right, made it ultimately no longer doubtful where his chief attempt was aimed. Columns of attack, under a heavy fire, were now in motion from the enemy's left, while others were filing to gain the right of the allies; and General Barclay de Tolly was attacked by a very superior force, under Marshal Ney and General Lauriston, and, notwithstanding the most gallant efforts, was forced to abandon the villages of Klutz and Cannervitz.

General Barclay de Tolly had orders, if outnumbered, to change the ground he occupied in front of Cannervitz and Priesnitz, and to place himself on the heights surrounding the villages of Rachel and Baruth, by which the army would change its position on the left, and cover the main roads through Wurtzen and Hochkirch to the rear: but the enemy outflanked him on the right, while they warmly engaged him in front, and occupied those heights before him; which determined him to throw himself on the right of Wurschen, where the Imperial head-quarters had been, and which equally answered his object. When it was perceived that General Barclay de Tolly was pressed by immense odds, General Blucher was ordered to move to his right, and attack the enemy in flank.

General Blucher was afterwards supported by Generals Kleist and D'York; and here a most bloody conflict ensued. These attacks succeeded in checking the enemy. A charge of 4000 of the allied cavalry on the columns of the enemy's infantry which had carried the village of Kracknitz completely repulsed him, and the Prussians again occupied it. Still these efforts were arrested by the enemy's bringing up fresh troops; and though partial successes were obtained, the general issue was in suspense.

A momentary advantage being gained by the enemy in consequence of General Barclay de Tolly's movements, he lost no time in making every exertion to push it to the utmost; renewing at the same time his attack on the Russian left flank, and assaulting the batteries that covered the conical heights, as also those of Krecknitz on the right. He made himself master of the latter, and of one of the batteries of the allies; which gave him, in some degree,

degree, the key of the position, as it commanded the low ground on the right and centre of it.

In every other part of the line, the allies firmly sustained the contest. But it soon became apparent, that the enemy had not only superior numbers to fight them at all points, but he had also the means of prolonging his flank march on their right, thus threatening their communications, and menacing their rear.

It might have been easy, by a general assault of the grenadiers and guards in reserve, to have recovered the heights of Krecknitz, still the pressure round the flank on General Barclay de Tolly's corps would have again rendered the speedy abandonment of them necessary; and when these troops moved to their point of attack, the centre, where the enemy still shewed a powerful force, would have been endangered. The allies were therefore induced to change their position at five o'clock in the evening.

Russian Journal of the Operations of the 21st May.

" Night put an end to the combat of the 20th. Nothing had yet taken place out of the position. The 21st, at half past four in the morning, the enemy commenced by attacking the left, seconded by a brisk fire of tirailleurs, which he had posted in the mountains, where he had also pushed forward some men to Cunevalde, to annoy us upon this flank. The Count de Miloradovitch and the Prince of Wirtemberg, nevertheless, repelled with intrepidity all the attacks on this side. They were renewed with the same vivacity at mid-day.

" However, between six and seven o'clock, the attack had equally commenced by a brisk cannonade and a smart fire of musquetry upon the right wing of the line, where the corps were posted under the orders of General Barclay de Tolly. The enemy was infinitely superior in numbers; and endeavoured, protected by the forest which covered him, to outflank this corps. The General Barclay de Tolly was posted on the heights, where there is a windmill, near Gleina: he extended his line during the battle towards the height, situated near Baruth, named La Voigtshutte. It was accomplished. General Kleist received orders to carry his troops to that point. He made an attack, as brisk as well combined, and forced the

the enemy to renounce the advantages which his superiority of numbers gave him. General Blucher sustained this attack with his two brigades, and by this sudden movement the enemy was obliged to give up his project of turning the right wing, as he had been that of turning the left.

“ During all these attacks, he kept up a continual fire of artillery and small arms, principally upon the centre, upon which, however, he made no positive attempt, Suddenly the attack began upon the heights of Krecknitz, which General Blucher's corps occupied. He took advantage of the moment when this General left this position with a part of his corps, to sustain that of General Barclay de Tolly, for the purpose of a vigorous attack, The enemy approached the heights from three sides at once, with the greatest part of his forces, which had formed into three columns for the attack; which established on this point a decided superiority. The tirailleurs posted themselves in the village of Kreckwitz. General D'York arrived to their relief, and the village was retaken. The troops defended these heights with an obstinacy beyond example. Four battalions of the Russian guards advanced to sustain General Blucher. In the mean time, the left wing, under the orders of Count de Miloradovitch, had pushed forward, taken many cannon from the enemy, destroyed some battalions, and was in advance.

“ The conflict became more sanguinary every moment. The instant was arrived wherein it was necessary to bring all our means into action, and risk all, or put an end to the battle. We determined upon the latter. To expose all to the hazard of a single day, would have been to play the game of Napoleon; to preserve our forces, to reap advantages from a war more difficult to the enemy as it is prolonged, is that of the Allies. We commenced a retreat. We made it in full day-light, under the eyes of the enemy, at seven in the evening, as upon a parade, without his being able to gain a single trophy; whilst the combined army had taken from him, in these three memorable days, by the valour and constancy of the troops, 12 pieces of cannon, made 3000 prisoners, amongst whom are four generals, and many officers of distinction. The least exaggerated accounts
state

state the loss of the French at 14,000 men, that of the allies does not exceed 6000.

“ Nothing could equal the courage and perseverance with which the army fought, but the *sang froid* and order with which it retired.

“ The spirit of the troops is the same as on the first day of the campaign.”

The force of the allies, in this sanguinary contest, did not exceed 65,000 men; the force of the enemy amounted to 120,000 men. Their loss in the actions of the 20th and 21st, by their own statement, amounted to 11 or 12,000 killed and wounded. Marshal Duke of Friuli, and several officers of note, were killed.

Russian Narrative of the Events of the 22d May.

“ The army had fallen back before night on Weissenberg; but the advanced corps continued to occupy the front in advance of Wurschen until morning, when they commenced their movement on Reichenbach. The enemy's army, commanded by Napoleon in person, then pushed forward, in the hope of cutting off Count Miloradovitch, with the victorious troops of the left wing, who had orders to march on Reichenbach by the road of Lobau. This enterprise was defeated by the activity and prudence of the chiefs. A part of our troops had taken up a position behind Reichenbach, whilst the advanced guards defended that place. The enemy endeavoured to dislodge them, by demonstrations of cavalry and the fire of artillery: the attempt continued without effect, till the moment when a strong column of infantry began to deploy; the troops then fell back behind the town, leaving only two battalions of chasseurs to defend the entrance of the defiles. These two battalions made such an obstinate resistance, that the enemy was obliged to advance in considerable strength; at length he thought his cavalry could act with considerable effect. He ordered a corps to charge, and to pass through Reichenbach: the attack was received by a body of cavalry destined to cover the chasseurs; and of that of the enemy which had entered Reichenbach, scarcely a man escaped the Russian charge and the fire of the infantry.

“ This reverse irritated Napoleon: 800 men of the guard, with a regiment of lancers, supported by 2 or 3000

3000 horse, attempted to turn and take in the rear a battery, which had been placed on an eminence on the left. General Colbert conducted this attack. Our cavalry was obliged to give way; but, an instant after, a regiment of hussars and a party of Cossacks were on the flank of Napoleon's guards; other detachments threw themselves forward, and the enemy was put in complete rout, after having lost some hundreds of men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The following morning the rear-guard continued its march on Gorlitz, without the enemy daring to annoy it. And in this manner the combined armies have executed their movements from Bautzen, without having lost even the wheel of a gun-carriage."

Thus the allies, in a few weeks, gave two decided battles to infinitely superior numbers. No day passed without trophies of victory arriving at the head-quarters of the army; no day, without affairs or skirmishes, in which they uniformly had the advantage. Committed to a desperate battle at Lutzen, where they triumphantly stood and conquered, and from which the difficulty of getting up ammunition alone obliged them to retire, they had executed the passage of the Elbe (than which no more difficult operation can be conceived), in the presence of a superior enemy, and traversed an extent of country of nearly 300 miles, retiring, contending position after position, and carrying with them between 6 and 700 pieces of cannon, without losing a gun, or sacrificing any of their baggage.

On the 27th of May, the Imperial head-quarters were at Striegau; and on the 28th, at Schweidnitz.

On the 26th, the cavalry under the orders of General Blucher had a most brilliant affair with a division of the enemy under General Maison, debouching from Haynau. Sir Charles Stewart describes it as one of the most distinguished cavalry attacks against squares of infantry that has been known in this war. The Prussian cavalry were concealed behind favourable ground, to accomplish their object. Their impatience to attack, however, was so great, that the result was not so complete as it might have been. Twelve pieces of cannon and 1300 prisoners fell into the hands of the allies.

On the 27th, eight squadrons of Russian cavalry, half Cossacks, attacked, near Golberg, twelve squadrons of the

the enemy's cuirassiers Napoleon, of whom they made 400 men and several officers prisoners. A partizan corps also captured a large ammunition park.

General Blucher's corps d'armée retired on the 28th to Preschau, on the Striegau river, while the main army took up its position near Schweidnitz.

By the second article of the armistice, concluded on the 8th of June at midnight, it was to last to the 20th of July inclusive: it was afterwards extended to the 10th of August; and hostilities were not to recommence without giving six days notice.

General Barclay de Tolly had succeeded Count Wittenstein in the chief command of the allied armies, previous to the armistice being agreed upon.

On the 12th of June, the funeral of Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk was solemnized with great pomp. About seven o'clock in the evening, the body arrived at the place intended and appointed by his Imperial Majesty for its sepulture, in the church of Nôtre Dame of Casan. The procession left the convent of St. Sergius, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The burgher corps of St. Petersburg arrived at three o'clock at the limits of the city, near to the river Tarakanowka, to receive the venerable remains, of which the capital was to be the dépôt. The nobles and clergy, accompanied by the metropolitan, and the great civil and military authorities, followed on foot. The capital had not for a long time beheld so imposing a sight as the funeral procession, which was the finest triumphal march, and worthy of the hero of the nation. The people drew the funeral car to the church-door. The coffin was placed in a vault under the dome. It was covered by the trophies of the French eagles and colours, accompanied by the Turkish trophies. A genius, with a laurel crown in his hand, hovered in the air over the hero's corpse. The people went to render their last homages to the man of their affections. The offices for the dead, and interment of the corpse, took place on Friday, the 14th of June. The tomb is under the picture which represents the deliverance of Moscow.

During the cessation of hostilities, every effort was made by the allies to procure the peace of Europe by negotiation; and terms still advantageous to Bonaparte might have been obtained by him. But it appeared, that he

desired the armistice for the purpose only of training the force he had been able to accumulate. The Emperor of Austria, who, until this moment, had persuaded himself that his son-in-law might pay some deference to his paternal councils, became now undeceived, and found himself compelled to take up arms in defence of himself and Europe, against the aggressions of the blood-thirsty Corsican.

The manifesto of the Emperor of Austria, upon joining the allies, is a state paper of considerable length, not necessary to be given here; the following passages, however, are too much connected with our subject to be omitted:—

Referring to the war Bonaparte had carried on against Russia, it observes—"The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic power, and conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature."

"This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states."

"In the beginning of December, steps had been taken to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to a peaceful policy."

"Eventual conditions, to which his self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare, in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the Emperor Napoleon *not to make, to the repose of the world, even one single nominal sacrifice.*"

It then states, "that, in the month of April 1813, Bonaparte proposed to Austria the dismemberment of the Prussian states, as the price of Austria's joining him. Of the congress at Prague, the Emperor of Austria knew nothing but *through the public prints*. The armistice gave Austria another opportunity of negotiating for a peace, who proposed sending a messenger to the British government. The Emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily

tarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time under trifling pretexts, and at length *entirely refused*. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the Emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed, of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions, at that particular period, afforded just reason to believe, that *a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude*. Russian, Prussian, and Austrian negotiators arrived at Prague; but Bonaparte shewed no serious anxiety to make peace. It was the 28th July before his minister arrived; and nothing but formal and minute discussions took place. After an useless exchange of mere formal notes, the 14th of August arrived. Austria took up arms; and the congress was dissolved."

Upon the expiration of the armistice, the Emperor of Russia issued a proclamation, declaring, that "on the 16th of August, including the notification of six days stipulating for the resumption of hostilities, the armistice finished. This space of two months and twelve days having left little hopes of the conclusion of a just and honourable peace, the bloody contest, on which definitively depends the fate of Europe, is about to commence."

"The enemy, as might be expected, had rather in view, in demanding a suspension of arms, the assembling of new forces to enslave nations who are strangers to him, than that of restoring that calm which so many storms rendered so necessary and so precious. But such is the nature of the circumstances in which Europe has for such a length of time found herself! *It is by blood the hydra Revolution had its birth, by blood she has been nourished, and BY BLOOD SHE MUST EXPIRE*. It is without doubt sad, it is humiliating to the human mind, that an age which is called the age of understanding and philosophy, should precisely be that in which the *science of CRIME* has been cultivated most profoundly, and with the greatest success; this it is which has given the most dreadful examples of human depravity.

“ Providence, whose impenetrable decrees laugh at our vain reasoning, after having punished so much pride, will at last make the good cause triumph. Let us dare to hope, that nations, tried by so many misfortunes and calamities, will understand their real interests better.

“ The spirit of revolt will no longer place arms in the hands of men to use against themselves, or against their sovereigns; they will now, on the contrary, offer the more touching spectacle of devotion towards their princes and their country. Animated by such generous notions, their resources will be as inexhaustible, as their resignation and perseverance will be indefatigable.”

The first operations of the allies, who were now strengthened by the accession of the Crown Prince of Sweden, with 30,000 men, advancing from the north of Germany towards the scene of action, were directed against Dresden, where the head-quarters of the French were fixed. Their main army, under Napoleon himself, was then in Silesia; but he hastened precipitately to save the Saxon capital. The battle fought under the walls of that city terminated in his favour, and frustrated the plan of the allies.

The most unfortunate event that occurred at this moment, was the death of the celebrated General Moreau, who had been banished by Bonaparte from France. He had lately returned from America, to assist, by his talents, the councils of the allies. The following may be considered as the last act of this great man's life. It is the letter he wrote, after the fatal accident, to his lady.

“ MY DEAR LOVE—At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had my two legs carried off by a cannon-ball. That scoundrel Bonaparte is always fortunate. The amputation was performed as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrograde movement, it is not at all the consequence of defeat, but from a want of *ensemble*, and in order to get nearer to General Blucher.

“ Excuse my scrawl. I love and embrace you with all my heart. Rapatel will finish.

“ V. M.”

He died on the 2d of September.

The Emperor Alexander, in his own hand, wrote to Madame Moreau a letter, of which the following is a translation.

translation. It does honour to the head and heart of the writer.

“MADAME—When the dreadful misfortune which befel General Moreau, close at my side, deprived me of the talents and experience of that great man, I indulged a hope that, by care, we might still be able to preserve him to his family, and to my friendship. Providence has ordered it otherwise. He died as he lived, in the full vigour of a strong and steady mind. There is but one remedy for the great miseries of life—that of seeing them participated. In Russia, Madame, you will find these sentiments every where; and if it suit you to fix your residence there, I will do all in my power to embellish the existence of a personage, of whom I make it my sacred duty to be the consoler and the support. I entreat you, Madame, to rely upon it irrevocably; never to let me be in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be of any use to you, and to write directly to me always. To meet your wishes will be a pleasure to me. The friendship I vowed to your husband exists beyond the grave; and I have no other means of shewing it, at least in part, towards him, than by doing every thing in my power to insure the welfare of his family. In these sad and cruel circumstances, accept, Madame, these marks of friendship, and the assurance of my sentiments.

“*Toplitz.*

“ALEXANDER.”

The Emperor Alexander, when in this country, paid a visit to Madame Moreau. He remained with her near one hour and a half, and, when retiring, said to her, that he had granted to her 100,000 roubles, to be paid to her on her receipt on his bank, 40,000 ditto a-year, the rank of Dame du Portrait, Order of St. Catharine; also 6000 roubles to her daughter, and the title of Demoiselle d'Honneur to the Empress.

Although the battle of Dresden terminated to the disadvantage of the allies, their primary object was attained. Napoleon's force was divided into three great armies. The engagements of Jauer, Gross-beren, and Dennivitz, proved disastrous to the French generals; and Lusatia, and the right bank of the Elbe, were soon in the hands of the allies. Oudinot, Ney, Regnier, Bertrand, and Vandamme, were, in succession, so totally defeated, that it was not possible for the French reporters to conceal
their

their disasters. The allies now acted every where offensively. Dresden became to him, in some respects, what Wilna was in 1812. Leipzig, an open place, was now of far greater importance to him than Minsk was then. The communications, however, between Dresden and Leipzig were interrupted, and his supplies became more and more precarious; and a large garrison, which it was necessary to reinforce with strong detachments from the main army, was locked up in Leipzig.

The perseverance of the allies, and the skill and bravery of their troops, under the commands of Prince Schwartzberg and General Blucher, had so effectually opposed every attempt of the enemy to penetrate into Bohemia, or to Berlin, that it became evident, that to continue longer in Dresden would involve his utter ruin. Indeed his retreat was now too late determined upon. He was obliged to commence it in the midst of an immense quadrangle, which the allies formed about him. He could not, however, yet determine to give up Dresden, but left there a considerable army, which had the effect of weakening himself, to no purpose whatever in case he should lose a battle. At length, near Leipzig, he was forced into the arduous conflict.

Bonaparte left Dresden on the 7th of October, taking with him the King of Saxony and court. On the 8th, the Bavarians joined the allies, signing a treaty with Austria, by which they were now to act offensively against the French.

On the 11th October, the combined Swedish and Prussian armies crossed the river Saale, in order to get into the rear of Bonaparte; and General Blucher effected a most extraordinary march from his positions before Dresden, and was enabled to cross the Elbe much lower down, and thereby unite in the movements of the Crown Prince.

On the 16th, the allies attacked the enemy at all points. The 17th was passed in reconnoitring on both sides. On the 18th, dreadful battles were fought on the north and south sides of Leipzig. During the engagement, the Saxon troops went over to the banners of the allies. The loss of the enemy on this day was computed at 40,000 men. On the 19th, Leipzig was taken, with the King of Saxony and his court, 25,000 wounded, the artillery, ammunition,

tion, &c. The whole supposed to diminish Bonaparte's force not less than 80,000 men.

Sir Charles Stewart wrote thus from the field of battle:—

“ The collective loss of *one hundred pieces of cannon, sixty thousand men* killed and wounded, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the whole of the Saxon army, also the Bavarian and the Wirtemberg troops, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, many generals, among whom are Regnier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, are some of the first-fruits of this glorious day. The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipsic this morning, the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded (the number of which exceeds *thirty thousand*), the narrow escape of Bonaparte, who fled from Leipsic at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete *deroute* of the French army, who are endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects for exultation.”

And Lord Cathcart——

“ The extent of the result of this important day cannot yet be ascertained. Near half a million of soldiers fought in this battle, probably one of the most extensive and most generally engaged that ever took place, at least in modern history.

“ The presence of the Sovereigns has certainly a most animating effect on their armies. All have behaved well; the Austrians have had a full share, and many of their generals have been wounded. The Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg received the grand cross of Maria Theresa from the hands of his Imperial master, and that of the first class of St. George from the Emperor Alexander.

“ General Barclay de Tolly is created a Count.

“ This is the eighth general action, seven of them commanded by the ruler of France, in which I have seen the Emperor Alexander in the field at the head of his army: as usual, unmindful of personal danger, he approached every column, animating the officers and men by his presence and example, and, by a few energetic words, touching the chords which produce the strongest effects

effects in the minds of Russian soldiers, confidence in the Supreme Being, resignation to his will, and attachment to their sovereign."

"From a communication made by Count Metternich, it appears, that the results of the great battles of the 16th, 18th, and 19th, surpass all conception. The number of prisoners already taken is more than forty thousand: every hour adds materially to the amount. On the 20th, the corps which advanced in pursuit of the enemy, took *one hundred and twenty* pieces of artillery. The whole number of cannon amounts to *three hundred*, and *more than one thousand caissons* have fallen into the hands of the allies. The booty taken in this city is immense. The suburbs of the town, and the principal gates, are blocked up with carriages, baggage-waggons, and equipages of every description.

"It is impossible to form a notion of the disorder which reigned among the enemy during the flight. Bonaparte quitted the town with considerable difficulty, as all the principal streets were completely impassable from the disorderly mass of fugitives.

"Several thousand bodies have been taken from the river. The streets and high roads heaped with dead bodies, and with wounded, whom it had been found impossible to remove. Twenty-seven generals, at the date of these dispatches, had already been taken."

The entrance of the allies into Leipzig is thus described by an eye-witness:—

"As the French commander-in-chief had so precipitately quitted the city, we could no longer doubt the proximity of the enemy to our walls. The fire of the artillery and musquetry in the place, which gradually approached nearer, was a much more convincing proof of this than we desired. The men already began to cut away the traces, in order to save the horses. The bustle among the soldiers augmented. A weak rear-guard had taken post in Reichel's garden, to keep the allies in check in case they should penetrate into the high road. We thought them still at a considerable distance, when a confused cry suddenly proclaimed that the Russians had stormed the outer Peter's gate, and were coming round from the Rossplatz. The French were evidently alarmed. The Russian jagers came upon them all at once,

once, at full speed, with tremendous huzzas, and fixed bayonets; and discharged their pieces singly, without stopping. I now thought it advisable to quit my dangerous post, and hasten home with all possible expedition. I was informed, by the way, that the Prussians had that moment stormed the Grimma gate, and would be in the city in a few minutes. On all sides was heard the firing of small arms, intermixed at times with the reports of the artillery already playing upon the waggon train in the suburbs. Musquet-balls passing over the city wall likewise whizzed through the street; and when I ventured to put my head out of the window, I observed with horror, not far from my house, two Prussian jagers pursuing and firing at some Frenchmen who were running away. Behind them I heard the Storm March, and huzzas and shouts of '*Long live Frederick-William!*' from thousands of voices. A company of Baden yagers was charged with the defence of the inner Peter's gate. These troops immediately abandoned their post, and ran as fast as their legs would carry them to the market-place, where they halted, and, like the Saxon grenadier guards, fired not a single shot.

"Thus the so long-feared and yet wished-for hour at length arrived. What we should never have expected, after the 2d of May, namely, to see a single Prussian again at Leipzig, was nevertheless come to pass. They had then left us as friends, and by their exemplary conduct had acquired our highest respect. We bore them, as well as the Russians, in the most honourable remembrance. They now appeared as enemies, whose duty had imposed on them the task of storming the city. Our sons and brothers had fought against them. What might not be our fate? We had not forgotten that which befel Lubeck, seven years before, under similar circumstances. But they were the warriors of Alexander, Francis, Frederick-William, and Charles-John; terrible as destroying angels to the foe, kind and generous to the defenceless citizen. As far as the author's knowledge extends, not a single man was guilty of the smallest excess within our walls."—

"It was half-past one o'clock when the allies penetrated into the city. The artillery had been but little used on this occasion, and in the interior of the place

not at all. Had not the allies shewn so much tenderness for the town, they might have spared the sacrifice of some hundreds of their brave soldiers: they employed infantry in the assault, that the city might not be utterly destroyed."

"The booty taken by the allies was immense. The suburbs were crowded with waggons and artillery, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. It was impossible for the most experienced eye to form any kind of estimate of their numbers. The captors left them all just as they were, and merely examined here and there the contents of the waggons."

"All the streets were thronged with the allied troops, who had fought, dispersed, and now met to congratulate one another on the important victory. Soon after the city was taken, the sovereigns made their entry. The people thronged in crowds to behold their august and so long-wished-for deliverers. They appeared without any pomp, in the simplest officer's uniform, attended by those heroes, a Blücher, Bülow, Platow, Barclay de Tolly, Schwartzenberg, Regnier, Sanders, &c. &c. whom we had so long admired. The acclamations of the people were unbounded; ten thousand voices greeted them with *huzzas* and *vivats*; and white handkerchiefs (symbols of peace) waved from every window. Some few, indeed, were too unhappy to take part in the general joy of this memorable day. Never did acclamations so sincere greet the ears of emperors and kings, as those which welcomed Alexander, Francis, Frederick-William, and Charles-John. They were followed by long files of troops, who had so gloriously sustained the arduous contest under their victorious banners.

"The Emperors Alexander and Francis, as well as the Crown Prince of Sweden, returned early to the army. After the departure of the Prussian monarch, our King set out, under a strong escort of Cossacks, for Berlin, or, as some asserted, for Schwedt."

On the 29th it was officially reported, that the army of the Emperor Napoleon retired with such precipitation, that the advanced guards of the allied armies could scarcely reach it. The route of Gotha, Eisenach, and Vach, by which the enemy retired, exhibited traces of the most complete dissolution of that army. The number of dead
bodies

bodies on the route increased from day to day. Thousands of soldiers, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, fell behind; and the greater part died, before they could be carried to an hospital. All the woods, for an extent of many miles on both sides of the route, were filled with fugitives, and sick and abandoned soldiers. Every where the enemy left cannon and carriages; he buried his artillery, or threw it into the rivers. According to the unanimous declaration of the brave warriors who made the last campaign in Russia, the road by which the enemy retired presented the same aspect as that from Moscow to Berezina.

On the 25th October Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, from whence he continued his retreat towards France by way of Frankfort on the Maine. The Bavarian army under General Wrede, which had marched with all possible expedition to Hanau, a few miles in advance of Frankfort, endeavoured to arrest his progress; but, being unsupported, was not able to resist the masses brought by Bonaparte, who, with the loss of between 20 and 30,000 men killed, wounded, and left behind, cut his way through. The following is an extract from the official report of this affair:—

“ On the 30th of October General Wrede made a reconnoissance; and having ascertained that Bonaparte, who was approaching, had still from 60 to 80,000 men, while his own force, in consequence of having sent out large detachments, was only 30,000 men in front of Hanau, he determined to impede the retreat which he could not wholly prevent. Having made the necessary dispositions, he was attacked by Bonaparte in person, who brought up 180 pieces of cannon, to compel him to give way. In this object Napoleon failed, as the combined army retained possession of the field of battle until the night, when the left wing was withdrawn behind Hanau. The enemy then commenced his retreat, and, to cover it, attempted to carry Hanau by assault. To spare the town from bombardment, General Wrede withdrew the garrison on the morning of the 31st of October; but the French having, on their entrance, began a general pillage, the allied army recovered it by assault, but with the loss of its commander-in-chief, Wrede, who was supposed to be mortally wounded in the attack.

This irreparable loss so incensed the Austro-Bavarian troops, that they put every Frenchman in the town to the sword. The loss of the allies was computed to be 7000 killed and wounded; that of the enemy was 15,000 killed and wounded. The greatest part of the latter perished in the wood of Lamprier, the rapidity with which the enemy effected his retreat not having permitted him to carry them off. The road from Hanau to Frankfort was covered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dismounted ammunition waggons. Fugitives were taken upon all the roads; and, besides those already enumerated, 15,000 had been brought in who were unable to keep up with the army. Among them were two generals and 280 officers.

On the 31st October, the Emperor Alexander's headquarters were at Melrichstadt; on the 1st November at Micherstadt, and at Heldersheim on the 2d. The grand army continued the march of its columns on Frankfort.

The Emperor Alexander made his entry into the city of Frankfort on the Maine at noon, on the 8th of November, at the head of the horse-artillery, and about fifty squadrons of the cavalry of the Russian Imperial guard and reserve, and some squadrons of the Prussian guards, amidst the loudest acclamations of many thousand inhabitants. His Imperial Majesty stopped near the quarter prepared for him, to see his cavalry pass, which they did in the most perfect parade order, after a march of 100 English miles (cantoning and cantonments included), which they performed in 48 hours. On the following day the Emperor of Austria arrived. The Emperor of Russia met his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty at some distance from Frankfort; and both sovereigns proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and *Te Deum* sung. Napoleon escaped from the Cossacks and his other pursuers, and carried the remains of his guards and some other corps to the left bank of the Rhine.

The possession of the fortress at Erfurth was the great instrument by which the retreat of the enemy was effected. It was thought possible he would make a stand behind this post; while, on the contrary, he redoubled his speed; and having possession of the best road, while the cross roads by which the allies endeavoured to intercept

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cept him were scarcely passable, he gained several marches.

The Emperor remained but a short time at Frankfort, proceeding from thence by way of Darmstadt, Raastadt, and Frybourg, to Freybourg in Brisgau, where he arrived on the 22d of December. Here his Imperial Majesty was received by the Emperor of Austria; and this being the birth-day of Alexander, the same was celebrated by Divine worship, and a dinner at the Imperial headquarters, at which the Emperor Francis was present.

The Austrian forces about this time crossed the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, Basle, and intermediate places, proceeding on their march towards the frontiers of France; other armies, at the same time, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorff and Coblenz: the whole force amounting at least to 300,000 men; and the route which they took, through Franche Compté and Lorraine, the most vulnerable part of France. The Emperor Alexander, with the last of his reserves, crossed the Rhine at Basle on the 13th of January, the anniversary of his crossing the Niemen (the extreme boundary of his empire) in pursuit of the French who had presumed to invade him. On this occasion, all means were taken to impress on the minds of the Russians, that the two events were interwoven together by the hands of Providence: the formal passage of the sacred river was not effected by the Czar until the auspicious day; an appeal to the God of Hosts preceded the undertaking. Heaven itself seemed thus to the Russians to have opened the way to national revenge; and the same enthusiasm by which their country was saved, continued to excite their bravery in the cause of Europe at 1500 miles from their native land.

The Emperor issued the following address to the army:—

“Soldiers! your courage and your discipline have brought you from the Oka to the Rhine; and the same qualities shall still lead you onward. Having now passed the Rhine, we have entered on a country against which we are to wage an obstinate war. Already have we delivered our native soil, and restored to freedom the greatest part of subjugated Europe; what yet remains to perfect that which we have undertaken, is the acquisition of peace. Our desire is, that tranquillity may be regained
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by every nation, and that each state may be re-established in its former happy government; that, in all countries, the general welfare of the people and the service of God may be promoted; and that arts, manufactures, and commerce, may again flourish. This is our wish; and to attain it, we have prolonged the war. When the enemy invaded our territories, his crimes occasioned to us much misery; but the wrath of God has visited him. Do not let us imitate his example; but let us forget the sufferings we have endured from his enmity, and extend towards him the hand of friendship and the olive of peace. The effulgence of Russian glory will be conspicuous in such a conquest over ourselves as well as our enemy. The religion that we cherish in our hearts commands us to forgive our enemies, and to do good to them that persecute us. Soldiers! I am firmly persuaded that, by your proper behaviour in an enemy's country, you will gain the affections of those whom you conquer by your valour. Remember that, by temperance and discipline, and Christian love, you will best promote the end we have in view, which is, universal peace. I am satisfied that you will dutifully obey all the regulations that shall be made for the direction of your conduct, since you must be convinced that they have for their motive both the general good and your own happiness."

On entering Switzerland, Prince Schwartzenberg issued the following order of the day :—

" Soldiers! we set foot on the Swiss territory; it is as friends, as deliverers, that we appear in this country. Your conduct will be conformable to this principle. Prove to the brave Swiss, that the Austrian warriors are as well acquainted with the duties which they have to fulfil in passing through a friendly country, and the respect due to the inhabitants, as with the qualities which in a day of battle lead to glory and victory. If the direction of the war renders it necessary to expose you to painful marches in this rigorous season, do not forget, soldiers, that the question now is to finish gloriously what you have begun with so much honour; and that greater difficulties, greater dangers, than what you now meet with, have been already vanquished; in short, that it is from your valour, and from your perseverance, that
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your country, and the whole world, expect a glorious and a durable peace."

The allied sovereigns also declared, by a note to the landamman of Switzerland, their determination not to acknowledge a nominal neutrality; and pledging themselves not to lay down their arms, before they insured to the republic those places which France had torn from it, and released it from foreign influence, without interfering with its constitution.

The troops which entered Switzerland were all Austrians: they observed the strictest discipline in their passage through the country, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants. This was universally the case, wherever the allied troops penetrated into the French territory. It was already easy to discover, that the power of Napoleon had been shook to its foundation; and that the desire of peace, and the despair of any successful stand against the force the allies were now pouring into their country, disposed even the French themselves to view their successful progress with satisfaction.

There were not however wanting, among his enemies, those who, imposed upon by the false glare of his military character, would, at this moment, have been contented to sheath the sword, and leave the usurper still in possession of a power he had so misused.

The magnanimity and moderation of Alexander and his allies, which sought only the deliverance of Europe, and its security for the future, proposed no terms to the conquered beyond the attainment of these objects. But these were inconsistent with his ambitious projects, and he could not willingly relinquish the hope of regaining the height from which he had fallen.

The allies were, therefore, compelled to pursue the contest; at the same time declaring, in the face of all Europe, the justice of their cause, the moderation of their own views, and the unaccountable pretensions of Napoleon, who was now held up as the only obstacle to the peace of the world.

On the 1st of February an engagement was fought, which Lord Burghersh in his dispatch calls the battle of La Rothiere; the French, that of Brienne. The troops immediately engaged on both sides amounted to

70, or 80,000 men. The whole of the allied corps were placed, as a particular mark of confidence, under the command of Marshal Blücher; and Bonaparte commanded the French in person. The engagement commenced at twelve o'clock. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzberg, were on the ground. Both armies occupied extended positions. The most obstinate resistance was experienced at the village of La Rothière, where Bonaparte led the young guards in an attack, and had a horse shot under him. At twelve at night, victory crowned the valour of the allied troops, and the skilful combinations and movements of their commanders. The enemy, defeated at all points, retreated in two columns upon Lesmont, Lieswotut, and Ronay. His loss, which could not be ascertained, was supposed to be immense. Seventy-three pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, were taken by the allies. The Prince Royal of Württemberg and General Wrede pursued the enemy in his retreat, and General Guilay took Lesmont by assault. The result of the battle was the immediate advance of the allies.

Upon the march of the Emperor to Vesoul, he met an officer, sent by Marshal Blücher, with the keys of the town of Nancy. He immediately sent two of the keys to the King of Prussia, reserving two for himself, with an appropriate message, which shewed the anxious attention and consideration that existed between the allied sovereigns.

As we shall have occasion more particularly to detail the military movements of the allied armies, in the Memoirs we propose to give of their great commanders-in-chief, Prince Schwartzberg and Marshal Blücher, we shall briefly here state that, between the 1st and 20th of February, several other sanguinary battles were fought, and the head-quarters of the grand army were now at Troyes, in the heart of France.

On the 22d, a plan of operations, similar to those pursued with so much success before Dresden, was concerted between the two commanders-in-chief, Prince Schwartzberg and General Blücher, in consequence of which the former fell back with the grand army from Troyes, which was immediately entered by Bonaparte.

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In the mean time Marshal Blucher crossed the Marne, in order to effect a junction with Winzingerode, Bulow, and Woronzow. On the 27th, Bonaparte quitted Troyes to pursue him.

On the 28th, Prince Schwartzenberg again advanced, and defeated Marshal Oudinot, between Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes, taking ten pieces of cannon, and 3000 prisoners. Troyes again surrendered to the allies by capitulation. The allies then advanced to Nogent.

The negotiations, which had been carried on by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerents at Chatillon, were now broken off.

Consistent with the plan agreed upon with Prince Schwartzenberg, the Prussian chief retreated before Bonaparte, upon the reinforcements which were marching to join him from the north of France. On the 3d of March he was joined by Bulow and Winzingerode; and, being now at the head of near 90,000 men, he determined to make a stand, and give battle. The first halt he made was at Soissons, where he was attacked for two successive days by the whole French force, without effect. They gave up the attempt on the afternoon of the 6th; and, crossing the Aisne at Bery, they assaulted the left of Blucher's army at Craone, where Bonaparte, by his old manœuvre of bringing his entire army to bear upon a small portion of his adversary's, obtained a momentary advantage, which rendered it necessary for the Prussian general to retrograde towards Laon, where he took up a position, which appears to have been admirably adapted to the operation he had in view. On the 9th, the left of the allies, commanded by Generals D'York, Kleist, and Sacken, were attacked by the French, directed by Bonaparte in person. Some ground was lost at the onset; but, at the village of Atheis, the possession of which would have almost insured him victory, he was checked through the vigilance of the veteran, who, foreseeing the event, had dispatched a sufficient force to this point, under the command of Prince William of Prussia. The scale was now turned. The French were routed and vigorously pursued on the Rheims road as far as Corbeny. The three generals continued the pursuit during the night of the 9th, and on the 10th and 11th, taking prisoners and cannon at every step. On the morning of the 10th, they had taken

4000 prisoners, an immense quantity of ammunition and baggage, and forty-five pieces of cannon. On the 12th, the allies a second time entered Rheims, and 3000 more prisoners were added to those already taken; the right division of the French army, which, it is said, was under the command of Marmont after Bonaparte had quit-
ted it.

We now turn to the French left, which advanced to the attack by the *chaussée* leading from Soissons to Laon. On the morning of the 9th, the enemy were at first favoured by a thick fog, which enabled them to arrive almost under the walls of the latter place. He had occupied the villages of Semilly and Ardon, from both which he was repeatedly driven by BULOW and WORRONZOW: but still no decisive advantages were gained in this quarter, either on the one side or the other, on the first day. The conflict continued during the whole of the 10th. The enemy even advanced against Semilly, close under the walls of Laon. General Bulow, now, by a desperate attack after sun-set, decided the fate of the day, and the enemy retired in disorder. Seventy pieces of cannon, and between 5 and 6000 prisoners, were taken.

Disappointed in his efforts against Blucher, Bonaparte attempted to debouch from Arcis-sur-Aube; but here he was successfully attacked by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, with the 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the allied army. The attack was resisted with great obstinacy by the enemy; who, after sustaining an immense loss in killed and wounded, was compelled to abandon Arcis, closely followed by the allies. The French Emperor, having failed in this attempt, was compelled to abandon his idea of attacking Prince Schwartzberg in the position he had taken at Menil-la-Contesse. He next attempted to prevent the junction of the Prince and Marshal Blucher, or to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and to make it as circuitous, as possible. Intercepted letters also disclosed it to be Bonaparte's opinion, that the movement he determined on to the right of Prince Schwartzberg might induce him to fall back toward the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications; and that thus he would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better situation to cover Paris.

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The allies, however, having crossed to the right of the Aube on the 22d, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward; thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with an united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.

The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance. On the morning of the 25th, the sixth corps, under General Reuske, fell in with the enemy's advance, and drove them back to Connantré, and through Fere Champenoise: in the former place, a large number of caissons, waggons, and baggage, were taken. In the mean time, on the left, the Russian cavalry of the reserves, under the Grand-Duke Constantine, was equally successful; charging the enemy, and taking 18 cannon, and many prisoners. But the principal brilliant movement of this day occurred after the allied troops had passed through Champenoise. A detached column of the enemy, of 5000 men, had been making its way, under the protection of Marmont's corps, from the neighbourhood of Montmirail to join Napoleon with his grand army. The corps had in charge an immense convoy, with 100,000 rations of bread and ammunition, and was of great importance by the force attached to it. Upon intelligence being received by Marshal Blucher of their position, Generals Kort and Basitschikoff's corps were immediately detached after them, and they were driven upon Fere Champenoise as the cavalry of the grand army were advancing. Some attacks of the cavalry were made upon this corps; who formed themselves into squares, and defended themselves in the most gallant manner, although they were young troops and *gardes nationales*, when they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies. Some officers were sent to demand their surrender; but they still kept marching and firing, and did not lay down their arms: a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them, and renewed charges of cavalry completed their destruction. The Generals Ames and Pathod, generals of division, five brigadiers, 5000 prisoners, and 12 cannon, with the convoy, fell into the hands of the allies.

Colonel Rapatel was shot going up to one of the co-

lums with a flag of truce. The loss of this officer, so much and so justly beloved by the allied army, from his attachment to General Moreau, his excellent qualities, and devotion to the good cause, occasioned a general regret.

The passage of the Marne at Meaux was effected by the sixth corps with little resistance. A part of Marshal Mortier's corps, under the immediate command of the French general Vincent, who retired through the above place, broke the bridge in his retreat, and detained the allies in their advance.

About 10,000 of the national guards, mixed with some old soldiers, made a feeble resistance to the progress of the Silesian army, between La Ferte, Jouarre, and Meaux; but General Horne attacked them, and, placing himself gallantly at the head of some squadrons, he pierced into a mass of infantry, taking, himself, the French general prisoner.

The French, on their retreat from Meaux, caused a magazine of powder, of immense extent, to be blown up, without the slightest information to the inhabitants of the town, who thought themselves, by the monstrous explosion, buried in the ruins of the place; not a window in the town but what was shattered to pieces, and great damage was done to all the houses, and to the magnificent cathedral.

Different bridges were constructed on the Marne, to enable the grand army to file over in various columns; and the whole pursued their march, with very little interruption, towards the capital of the French empire.

The enemy's army, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, was found to occupy with their right the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville, and their left on Montmartre. They had also constructed several redoubts in the centre; and on the whole line was an immense artillery of 150 pieces.

In order to attack this position, the Silesian army was directed on Montmartre, St. Denis, and the village of La Valette and Pantin; while the grand army attacked the enemy's right, on the heights of Romainville and Belleville.

His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg's
division

division of the 6th corps commenced the attack; and, after some loss, carried the heights of Romainville, the enemy retiring to those of Belleville, behind them.

Generals D'York and Kleist, with their corps of the Silesian army, debouched near St. Denis on Aubeville. A strong redoubt and battery of the enemy's in the centre kept General D'York's corps in check for some part of the day; but the right flank being gained by the heights of Romainville, as well as their loss in every part of the field, and, finally, the complete discomfiture on all sides, reduced them to the necessity of sending a flag of truce, to demand a cessation of hostilities, they giving up all the ground without the barrier of Paris, till further arrangements could be made. The heights were placed in the hands of the allies at the moment when Count Langeron's corps was about to storm them, and had already taken possession of the rest of the hill.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, (who were present in all the actions), and Prince Schwartzemberg, with that humanity which must excite the applause while it calls for the admiration of all Europe, acceded to a proposition to prevent the capital from being sacked and destroyed.

Count Par, aide-de-camp to the Prince Field-Marshal, and Colonel Orloff, aide-de-camp to his Majesty the Emperor, were sent to arrange the terms for a cessation of hostilities.

The following interesting account of the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris is chiefly extracted from the dispatches of Lord Viscount Cathcart and Sir Charles Stewart, dated Paris, March 31.

The Emperor Alexander, with the King of Prussia, marched into Paris on the morning of the 31st, when they were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The windows of the best houses were filled by well-dressed persons, waving white handkerchiefs, and clapping their hands; the populace, intermixed with many of a superior class, were in the streets, pressing forward to see the Emperor, and to endeavour to touch his horse. The general cry was, "*Vive L'Empereur Alexander!*" "*Vive notre Libérateur!*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse!*" Very many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry of
" *Vive*

"*Vive Louis XVIII.!*" "*Vivent les Bourbons.!*" which gradually increased. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties proceeded to Champs Elysées, where a great part of the army passed in review before them, and, as usual, in the most exact order. The national guards themselves cleared the avenues for the allied troops to pass through, in all the pomp of military parade, the day after a severe action. The people of Paris, whose political sentiments have at all times been manifested by the strongest indication, were unanimous in their cry for peace, and a change of dynasty, enjoying the spectacle of the entry into the capital of France of an invading army as a blessing and a deliverance. A rope was placed round the statue of Napoleon on the Colonne de la Grande Armée; and the people amused themselves with pulling it, and crying, "*A bas le Tyran.!*" Sir Charles Stewart says, that upon the entrance of the allied sovereigns, the crowd was so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but, before the monarchs reached the Porte de St. Martin to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding. All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated on one spot; one *animus* or spring evidently directed all their movements; they thronged in such masses round the Emperor and King, that, with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. They were positively eaten up amidst the cries of "*Vive L'Empereur Alexander.!*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse.!*" "*Vivent nos Libérateurs.!*" The clamorous applause of the multitude was seconded by a similar demonstration from all the houses along the line to the Champs Elysées; and handkerchiefs, as well as the fair hands that waved them, seemed in continued requisition. In short, to have an idea of such a manifestation of electric feeling as Paris displayed, it must have been witnessed.

The following declaration was now issued by his Majesty the Emperor Alexander:—

"The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France. The allied sovereigns receive favourably the wish of the French nation.

"They declare, that if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to
bind

bind down the ambition of Bonaparte, they may be more favourable when, by a return of a wise government, France herself offers the assurance of this repose.

“ The sovereigns proclaim, in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family.

“ That they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings: they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong.

“ That they will recognize and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt. They therefore invite the Senate to name immediately a Provisional Government, which may provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare a constitution which shall suit the French people.

“ The intentions which I have just expressed are common to all the allied powers.

“ ALEXANDER.”

On the 2d of April, the Emperor gave audience to the Senate, who came to present the result of their deliberations as to the plan of their future government. After having received the homage of this body—

“ A man, who called himself my ally,” said the Emperor Alexander, “ entered my states as an unjust aggressor; it is against him I have made war, not against France. I am the friend of the French people; what you have just done redoubles this sentiment: it is just, it is wise, to give to France wise and liberal institutions, which may be conformable to the present state of knowledge. My allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions.”

The Emperor stopped a moment; then his Majesty continued, with the most affecting emotion—

“ As a proof of the durable alliance which I mean to contract with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners which are in Russia*: the Provisional Government had already asked this of me; I grant it to the Senate, in consequence of the resolutions which it has taken to-day.”

* The number of these prisoners amounted to near 200,000 men.

The Senate withdrew, penetrated with sentiments of gratitude and of the highest admiration.

The abdication of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons, which immediately took place, formed the glorious close of the series of extraordinary events, of which we have given a rapid sketch in the preceding pages of this Memoir; each of them succeeding the other in such quick and regular succession, and with such increase of importance, that we found neither opportunity or inclination to interrupt the connection of the narrative by any observations of our own.

We have now arrived, with the illustrious subject of this Memoir, at an epoch in the history of his glorious career the most splendid that ever historian recorded—the epoch of Europe delivered from a tyranny that, until the very moment of its downfall, exhibited no signs of decay: and we have no hesitation in asserting, that to the fortitude, perseverance, and magnanimity of the Emperor Alexander, the glory of the conquest is due; that he has been the agent appointed by Providence to restore peace to the world, and by the sword to destroy the power of the MAN OF THE SWORD.

We shall now take a retrospective view of the campaigns of 1812 and 1813; and endeavour to shew, that the policy of the Emperor has always been conformable to the liberal principles he has ever professed, and which we have assumed to have guided him from the earliest period of his public life.

We have been very careful to preserve all the proclamations and public papers issued by the Emperor, from the INVASION OF RUSSIA to the FALL OF PARIS, not only as most eloquent appeals to public virtue, but as the most authentic evidences of the power and influence a cause derives from the justice of its character. These papers will also serve as land-marks to lead our judgment through the labyrinth of state-policy, and thus enable us correctly to unravel its intricacies, and discover the real object in view.

The Emperor Alexander has been ever remarkable for his openness and candour; his proclamations and ukases have this character in an eminent degree. It will, however, be observed, that from time to time they assume a loftier tone as his high destiny is developed.

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We have, in the preceding pages, ventured to express an opinion, that it was no departure from principle, or that upright policy which alone deserves to succeed, to submit to those unfortunate circumstances which brought about the peace of Presburg, and to retire with dignity from a struggle against gigantic power which must otherwise have been encountered alone and unaided.

The battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the Austrians and to the good cause, was rather favourable than otherwise to the military character of the Russian army; and the personal efforts of the Emperor Alexander endeared him to his soldiers, and inspired them with the best hopes of future glory under his command.

The principles and sentiments of the Emperor Alexander were well known to Bonaparte, even in August 1805. The French minister, in the state paper issued by his government, declares, "that Russia, instead of being desirous of peace, finds her interest only in war, and founds on its renovation hopes which she in vain endeavours to conceal. For a twelvemonth past, the French Emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian cabinet; and, being thus attacked in his honour, he has no longer any thing to expect or require of Russia."

On the 31st of August, Alexander caused a declaration to be delivered to the French minister at Vienna, there having been no intercourse with Paris since the war of 1804, which exhibited his fixed and inflexible resolution to recover the states of Europe from French predominance, and to afford them immediate and effectual assistance. For which purpose he caused two armies, of 50,000 men each, to march through Galicia to the Danube; and, in the Austrian declaration which immediately followed, the two courts formally declared, in the name of both, "That they were ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the continent, on the most moderate terms which were compatible with the general tranquillity and security.

"That whatever should be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities be unavoidable, *they at the same time pledged themselves to abstain from every proceeding tending to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of*

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possession, and the legally existing relations in the German empire; or, in the slightest degree, to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman Porte, &c.; and, finally, that the sentiments of Great Britain were conformable with those just expressed, &c."

The time, however, was not yet arrived for the good cause to triumph. The irritated passions of men had not yet subsided sufficiently to allow the exercise of right reason; and the imposing character of the conqueror, which, in the civilized world, should have long ceased to influence, paralyzed every generous and humane effort to restore the blessings of peace. The Emperor Alexander, however, retired from the contest with dignity, and in an attitude that commanded the respect of the enemy, who was unable to pursue his boasted advantages, which, according to his bulletins, involved the destruction of the Russian empire.

The Emperor of the French, whose title was his sword, could not suffer it to lose its force by rest, or the people to question its legitimacy when the splendour of victory no longer dazzled their eyes.

In 1807, therefore, we find the Russian Emperor still actuated by the same liberal policy, and bringing all his means to effect the glorious purpose; but again that unfortunate want of general concert, and that blindness to their true interests, before so fatal, divided their force, and rendered of no avail the great exertions now made. The battle of Friedland seemed to extinguish for ever all hopes of successful resistance to the inordinate ambition of the French Emperor.

We now come to the peace of Tilsit—and here we have to notice an extraordinary anecdote, which was passed over in our Memoir, as not sufficiently authentic to insert amongst a series of facts.

It has been asserted, the treaty of Tilsit was obtained from the Emperor Alexander by a sort of compulsion; that Bonaparte contrived to get the Emperor to meet him upon a raft on the Niemen river; that they were alone, and separated from the Russian attendants; and in this situation Bonaparte is said to have detained his Imperial Majesty until he consented to the terms of the proposed treaty. This is a very improbable story, to say the least of it, and is supported by no good authority whatever.

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In the French bulletin relating the circumstance of the meeting on the Niemen, it is indeed stated, "that Bonaparte, accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Marshal Bessieres, Duroc, and Caulincourt, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboissieu, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion to be erected upon it; close by it was another raft and pavilion, for their Majesties' suites. At the same moment, the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand-Duke Constantine, General Benningsen, General Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his principal aid-de-camp, Count Lieven. The two boats arrived at the same instant; the Emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. *They entered together the saloon which was prepared for them, and remained there during two hours.* The conference being ended, the persons composing *the suite of the two Emperors were introduced.*" From this statement it is barely possible that the Emperor Alexander might have been so separated from his attendants as asserted in the anecdote; but there is nothing to induce us to believe, that he who had so lately shewn such bravery in the field of battle, could have been influenced by any sort of fear on this occasion. We have stated, in our Memoir, many circumstances which concurred to induce the Emperor to conclude a peace with the French; and there is nothing in his conduct to be complained of by us, who had already departed from every principle that justified the war, and concluded the peace of Amiens. If political necessity in this case was our justification, it certainly ought to be allowed in behalf of Alexander, who was contending rather for the rights of others than his own.

The next subject for discussion will be the efforts the Emperor now made to obtain by negotiation what he had not been able to effect by the sword; and in England alone has his conduct in this instance been objected to, because it happened that his efforts were in concert with our enemy.

It does not appear, however, that, prior to our attack upon Copenhagen, the Russian Emperor was inclined to abandon the interests of his ancient ally; and, flattered

as he was by the concessions ostensibly made by Bonaparte in favour of the King of Prussia, wholly in compliment to him, there is every reason to suppose, that the amiable and sincere Alexander expected the same moderation in favour of England; and it is not improbable that Bonaparte, at this moment, might have been actuated by a sound policy, and would have been contented to consolidate his power, by suppressing, for a period, his ambitious designs.

The doubtful character of our attack on Copenhagen could not but be offensive to the high-minded Alexander. The policy which dictated the measure, was certainly not his: expediency had not yet induced him to sacrifice his principles, especially where his own individual interest demanded the sacrifice.

Although we cannot perceive any departure from principle, in the conduct of the Emperor Alexander, in this instance; we cannot but feel, that his own ingenuous disposition exposed him to the cunning of Bonaparte, and induced him to give a credit to his seeming moderation and desire of peace, and consequently to concur in measures which ultimately proved most disastrous to Europe and himself.

In contemplating the Emperor Alexander as the ally of Bonaparte, we confess, it is painful to us to record the fact. We divest ourselves of every prejudice, and feel only for the Emperor himself, whose character in this instance was so compromised. We owe it, however to our readers, to be strictly impartial; we cannot, therefore, withhold those circumstances which shew how powerful was the influence of the Corsican at the court of Russia during this unhappy period. This influence was first made apparent in the declaration of the Emperor upon his rupture with this country, in which he appears to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy, stigmatizing as "*insurrection*" the generous efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign. We cannot find excuse or defence for the weakness that submitted to adopt such principles, so foreign to his heart.

The attack upon Swedish Finland appears to us to be too much of the character of French policy, to be told by us with any satisfaction. In this act we first discover
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the necessity to apply to the *expediency* of the measure for its justification: this is not consistent with our morality, we therefore only state the fact.

The next and last circumstance it is our painful duty to record, is the attack of the Russians upon Austria, at the moment Bonaparte was inflicting wounds, never to be healed, on that unfortunate empire. General Prince Gallitzin entered Galicia at this time; and, at the peace which was subsequently made, the conquered part was annexed to the Russian empire.

These deviations from that disinterested policy which from the first appeared to influence the nobler acts of the Emperor of Russia, and which has, from the moment of his rupture with Bonaparte, again been adopted, in situations where less moderation might have been allowed, only serve to prove how unfortunate it is to become in any manner connected with vice.

It would have been better for Europe, and much more advantageous to the character of Alexander, if Moscow had fallen five years earlier: for character is strength; and it was not until all public virtue was prostrate before him, that Bonaparte was able to achieve the subjugation of the continent. He viewed, therefore, with complacency even the aggrandisement of Russia, if derived at the expence of her moral character; perfectly aware that no accession of strength, so derived, could counterbalance the effect of public opinion. We do therefore find in the conduct of Alexander, during the period of his unfortunate alliance with France, a most extraordinary acquiescence in the French system, and an almost blind devotion to the plans of Bonaparte. This conduct involved him in a war with England, and at length subjected the Russian empire to such mischiefs, through the total loss of trade, that the loud cries of the people pierced the ears of their Emperor, and his eyes became opened—too late, perhaps, for his own glory, but in time for that of the Russian army, which was destined to effect the deliverance of Europe.

It has already been shewn, that the Emperor Alexander was, early in 1811, made aware of the designs of Bonaparte, and that every preparation was made throughout Russia to raise an adequate force to repel the threatened invasion.

invasion. The war with the Turks was prolonged, to afford ostensible occasion for new levies, and the continued accumulation of military force in different parts of the empire. The people were universally informed, that the contest they so much desired was at hand; and the wisest and best men in Russia were selected to serve their country in the hour of trial.

The French Emperor was, for the first time, anticipated; and although, aware of this, he had strained every nerve to increase the amount of the invading force, by dragging with him the troops of all his vassal states, still he betrayed an evident fear of the result of a contest with a nation unanimous to defend themselves, loyal to enthusiasm, and of whose bravery he had had sufficient experience.

When the Emperor Alexander had again drawn his sword against the man who had so diminished his glory by his alliance, he became *himself* again; and his noble proclamations promised the world much, but not more than he was destined to perform.

Far from exhibiting, however, any sort of arrogance, and not at all anticipating the high destiny to which Providence was about to call him, the independence of Russia and the northern powers was the most that he hoped to achieve, and this only after a struggle which he was prepared to expect would be tremendous and protracted.

All hope of successfully defending their frontier from the invaders being renounced, it was the plan of the Russian commanders to crush them in the bosom of their country: how effectually this was done, our readers must recollect. The visitation of Providence rapidly completed the ruin which had begun to fall on their enemies, in consequence of this plan of attack and retreat; and the magnitude of this ruin opened views to the mind of Alexander, which, while he contemplated with awe, he determined to pursue. It was therefore, that, having driven the French out of Russia, he refused every offer of peace, and resolved not to sheath his sword until the independence of Germany was recovered.

At this period his views extended no farther; the Rhine was to be the limit of his victorious march, and
rescued

rescued Germany his glorious labour. But the time was now come, when the head of Usurpation was to be bowed to the ground; it already drooped, and loud and deep was the voice of the oppressed.

Gigantic as were the efforts of Bonaparte, the good cause now triumphed; and on the banks of the Rhine the beneficent Alexander was implored to pursue his career of victory, and complete the work he had so happily begun. The Rhine was passed—yet even now the voice of the people was respected by the allies: and if the French nation had really desired the continuation of the new dynasty, it was not intended to interfere with their internal government; and the declaration to this effect was issued.

In the mean time, however, the Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity to rise upon their tyrants and assert their independence; which was accordingly effected so completely, that the cause of the allies not only was considerably strengthened, but their power to execute new plans greatly increased.

The proceedings in Holland were so sudden, and, if not unexpected, so much earlier than looked for, that the allies found they had, in the spirit of moderation which guided them, offered Bonaparte better terms than they now could execute. The insanity of the Corsican extricated them from this dilemma: and, as we have seen, he preferred to try the chance of war; but, no longer the “darling of victory,” his struggles were in vain, and they were closed with the capitulation of Paris.

The moderation of the conquerors, their humanity, and, in particular, the mercy of the Emperor Alexander to an enemy who had destroyed the ancient capital of his empire, cannot be sufficiently applauded, and will for ever be remembered as an instance of the most heroic forbearance. It is impossible that such a man should have ever acted inconsistent with the noblest principles, but from an error of judgment and a mistaken view of existing circumstances—a misfortune to which the wisest and best of mankind are subject.

During the stay of the Emperor in Paris, all ranks of people were delighted by his affability; and it was said of him, that he took more pains to conquer hearts than kingdoms. His Imperial Majesty remained but to receive

ceive the monarch his arms had restored to the throne of his ancestors*.

This country was then to be honoured by his presence; and accordingly, on the 6th of June, at half-past six in the afternoon, the illustrious subject of our Memoir, accompanied by the King of Prussia, landed from the Impregnable and Jason on the British shores at Dover. Their Majesties were also accompanied by the two eldest sons of the King of Prussia, Prince William his brother, Prince Frederic his nephew, Prince Augustus his cousin, Marshal Blucher, Baron Humbolt, Counts Hardenberg and Nesselrode, and other illustrious personages. Their Majesties were received on shore by Lords Yarmouth, Bentinck, and the Earl of Rosslyn. The Duke of Clarence, who brought them from Boulogne, had provided a splendid entertainment, of which most of the royal persons partook. Counts Platoff, Barclay de Tolly, and Tolstoi, and Prince Metternich the Austrian minister, had previously landed.

The Emperor Alexander, on receiving an address from the inhabitants of Dover, replied to the deputation in English as follows:—"Although, Gentlemen, I understand your language, I do not feel myself sufficiently acquainted with it to reply to you in English; and I must therefore request those gentlemen of the deputation who speak French to be my interpreters to those who do not." The remainder of his Majesty's answer was in

* The Emperor of Russia, immediately upon his arrival at Paris, rode on horseback to the Thuilleries, examined every thing, and praised the taste with which it was adorned. "I have found France very fine," said his Majesty, "but I shall leave it in a much more flourishing condition." Being shewn the Saloon of Peace, he said, "What use could Bonaparte make of this saloon?" When he came to the great gallery of the Museum, he said, "Ten days are necessary to see this fine collection." Observing that some pictures were removed, he said, "his character must have been quite misunderstood, if any fear had been entertained for the Museum." The monument of the Place Vendome was taken under the protection of the high allied powers; the statue of Bonaparte, at the top of it, was to be replaced by that of Peace. As the Emperor Alexander rode by it, he said, "I should be afraid of becoming giddy, if I stood so high." "Your Majesty's arrival at Paris has been long expected and desired," said somebody. "I should have been here sooner," replied the Emperor: "attribute my delay to French valour."

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French, in substance as follows:—" I am much pleased to find, by the sentiments you have expressed, that the services rendered by my armies, in the great cause in which we have been engaged, are so highly considered by the British nation. I can assure you, that by no means the smallest gratification I derive from the late campaign is the opportunity it has afforded me of visiting England, a country for which I have long entertained the highest esteem. Gentlemen, I beg you will accept my thanks for this mark of attention, and my best wishes for the welfare of your town; and assure yourselves, I shall always endeavour to preserve a cordial friendship between England and Russia."

The Duchess of Oldenberg, the sister of the Emperor, was already amongst us*; and had, during the time she had been in England, made herself universally known and respected, by making herself acquainted with our customs and institutions, and finding out the proper character of the nation through the domestic results of its knowledge and public spirit. The very character of the

* The object of this lady in visiting England was said to be the restoration of her health, which has been affected by the death of the Duke her husband. The cause of that event was the Duke's constant attendance upon sick and wounded prisoners, which brought on a malignant fever; and, during the last four days of his life, his Imperial consort would suffer nobody to come near him but herself. The immediate consequence of her loss was a succession of fainting fits, to which she is still subject; and these were followed by a settled melancholy, which (by the advice of her physicians, and chiefly by the tenderness and anxiety of her brother, the Russian Emperor, who is said to be very fond of her) she has been induced to relieve by change of scene and climate, and the amusements of society. Her nerves are said to have been so weakened, that for a long period she could bear neither music nor perfumes; no flowers were allowed to be introduced into her apartments; and at the Carlton-House concert she was so affected, that she burst into tears, and on her return home had one of her usual fits.

The Duchess has two sons: she brought one, who is still an infant, with her; the other was left with the Emperor Alexander. Her Highness's fortune is about 200,000 rubles (10,000*l.*) per annum.

The Duchess is about twenty-six years of age, and has been now a widow a year and a half. She chiefly wears black, with three ostrich feathers, of the same colour, fixed to a simple head-dress. Her person is of the middle size, with a handsome face, and expressive eye; her manners polished in the extreme, being soft, persuasive, and even eloquent.

Duchess of Oldenberg augured well for her illustrious brother; and the affection he is said to bear her, still more.

The illustrious visitors had been expected some days, and thousands were anxiously waiting to catch the first glance. The roads from Dover to London were thronged with horse and foot, and vehicles of all sorts and conditions, decorated with ribbands, flags, and laurels. Their Majesties left Dover on Tuesday morning at nine, in their plain travelling carriage; and when, at three o'clock, Sir C. Stewart announced at Welling that the monarchs had gone to town in a private manner two hours before, the disappointment was great.

The Russian Emperor, having thus avoided the multitude, entered London about half-past two o'clock in a carriage and four; and, driving straight to Pulteney Hotel, Piccadilly, had ascended the first flight of stairs before it was announced that he was arrived. The Grand-Duchess met and embraced him on the stairs; and the shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" soon brought his Majesty to the balcony, where he continued for some time to gratify the people with a sight of his person, occasionally bowing to them in the most condescending manner, in answer to their shoutings. At half-past four, the Emperor, accompanied by Count Lieven, went to see the Prince Regent at Carlton House. He was received in a very private manner by his Royal Highness, who gave his Majesty a most hearty welcome.

The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the Grand-Duchess, afforded evident proofs of praiseworthy curiosity and good taste, with a perfect indifference to shew and parade.

Such was his activity, that those who wished to see him were obliged to rise as early as himself. In the morning he breakfasted by eight; and on the 5th of June, walked in Kensington Gardens with his sister; at ten, proceeded to Westminster Hall and the Abbey, to view the tombs of the illustrious dead. His sister and himself next visited the British Museum. At one o'clock he held a levee at Cumberland House, which he used as his state apartments, and was visited by the Prince Regent; and, between five and six the same day, attended

attended the court of her Majesty, held expressly for their introduction, at the Queen's Palace; and afterwards dined with the Prince Regent at Carlton House.

On the 9th, the Emperor Alexander rode through various parts of the metropolis, passing the Royal Exchange, and making nearly a circuit of the east and western quarters of London, returned to the Pulteney Hotel to breakfast. The Emperor, with the Duchess and a party of distinction, then left the hotel in their carriages, without military escort, and proceeded through the Strand and city to the London Docks.

On the 10th, the allied sovereigns, after viewing Richmond Terrace, with which they were particularly delighted, and Hampton Court, attended Ascot races: from the races, they accompanied the Queen to Frogmore, and partook of a magnificent entertainment which had been provided by her Majesty for 100 persons.

On the 11th, the Bank of England was visited by the Emperor and Duchess of Oldenberg. The governor, deputy governor, and directors, conducted the visitors through the various departments of that extensive building. His Imperial Majesty listened with great attention to the explanations which were given of the several offices, and expressed much admiration at the systematic manner in which the business appeared to be conducted. He added, with much affability and condescension, that he was extremely obliged for the polite attentions shewn to him and his sister; and that he was convinced, from what he had heard and seen, that the character acquired by the people of England, for their extensive commerce, their wealth, and their liberality, was not more great than deserved*. The illustrious party partook

* Sir John Carr, in his "Northern Summer," written very shortly after the accession of Alexander to the throne, mentions several instances of his Majesty's good-nature, and partiality to the English, which, amongst others, the following anecdotes strongly illustrate.

"One day, whilst I was at Petersburg, as the Emperor was returning from Cronstadt, when the weather was most oppressively hot, he halted at a little village about twenty wersts from the Residence, in consequence of the relay of horses not being immediately ready. An English merchant, who had a country-house adjoining, with that warmth of heart which forgets and surpasses all etiquette, ran out, and presented to the

partook of a cold collation. On the same day, the Emperor was waited on by the lord-mayor, recorder, sheriffs, aldermen, and common-council, in their civic robes, at his state apartments St. James's, with their address of congratulation. His Imperial Majesty, with great courtesy, returned his thanks for the honour conferred on him, in a short speech in English, which was very elegant and gracefully delivered. At the Opera, in the evening, a hymn in honour of our august visitors was sung in an admirable style, and received with rapture. The delight of the spectators was inexpressible. Owing to the immense crowd, the interior doors of the Opera House were broken to pieces, and nearly 2000 persons gained admission without payment.

On Sunday, the 12th, the allied monarchs appeared in Hyde Park on horseback, to gratify the curiosity of the public. The Emperor left the Pulteney Hotel about two o'clock, mounted on a most beautiful horse, dressed in an English scarlet uniform, with a large collection of feathers in his hat. He proceeded to St. James's Palace, and called at Clarence House for the King of Prussia to accompany him; but his saddle-horses not being ready, Alexander proceeded towards the Park, and his Majesty followed. They were received with the most enthusiastic applauses, of which they appeared truly sensible.

On the 13th, the illustrious visitors and the Prince Regent embarked at Whitehall, in the admiralty, navy,

Emperor, who appeared to be in great heat and covered with dust, a glass of excellent Burton ale, of which his Majesty, with his usual affability, thanked his attentive host, and drank. Both the Emperor and the merchant forgot that the beverage was prohibited, or secretly relished it the more on that account. A German who was present, and was struck with the frank and cordial avidity with which the Emperor emptied the glass, observed, "that had a Frenchman offered it, his Majesty would have made one of his horses taste it first."

"Upon another occasion, the Emperor exhibited the 'native goodness of his heart. Some British bottled porter (which is also prohibited) was shipped for an Englishman, whose lady was very much indisposed, and to whom it was recommended by her physicians. Scarcely had it reached Petersburg from Cronstadt, before it was seized by a custom-house officer: upon the Emperor hearing of it, he sent to the customs, declaring it to be his own (for such, in truth, the law of confiscation made it), and immediately forwarded it, with some very kind expressions, to the fair invalid."

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and ordnance barges, for Woolwich. There were, in the whole, 17 barges, and a line of man-of-war boats to keep order, with two bands of music. The effect of the spectacle was exceedingly grand. On their arrival at the new wharf in the royal arsenal, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent landed, amidst a salute of cannon, and assisted the Duchess of Oldenberg, the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, up the stairs. A guard of honour was stationed on the wharf, consisting of the horse-guards and royal artillery. General Lloyd and the officers of the garrison received the royal visitors, and conducted them to the first range of store-houses, where every sort of military appointment is preserved in the greatest order. In the model-room, they inspected the curious model of Quebec; and went from thence to the rocket-ground, where several experiments were prepared to shew the strength and effect of Colonel Congreve's rockets. A superb tent was erected on the mound for the illustrious visitors and their suite; and, after they had taken their seats, a most interesting exhibition ensued. On a signal given by Colonel Congreve, who superintended the rocket department, a demonstration was made of the power of the rocket composition. At about 200 yards north-east of the mound where the royal visitors were stationed, a quantity of the composition, placed on three pieces of timber, exploded, producing columns of flame awfully grand: the discharge produced a volcanic appearance, attended by a tremendous roaring. But the burning property of the material was most remarkable: after the discharge, the timber remained in flames, and actually burnt to a cinder. The next operation was a display of the rockets as used in besieging. They shot upwards to a considerable elevation, carrying a tube filled with burning material a considerable distance: they were larger than any used on a former occasion, and made a tremendous roaring. The next experiment was a proof of the havoc these engines occasion in a field of battle. They were fired from the opposite bank of the Thames, horizontally, over the low grounds, to the distance of 800 or 1000 yards. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by these discharges: the beholders were lost in astonishment. The shells thrown by the rockets flew to the distance required, and exploded

ploded with horrible sounds. There can be little doubt that a single volley would disunite a body of cavalry: against that description of force they are peculiarly efficient, as they not only kill, but spread terror among the horses. The foreign officers were much struck by the effect of this new engine in the art of war.

The royal party, leaving this extraordinary exhibition, went to the new saw-mill, where human invention seems exerted to its highest point. Sawing, both vertical and horizontal, is here performed by machinery moved only by steam. Huge logs of elm, ash, and fir timber, were cut into planks, on this occasion, with an order and precision truly astonishing. They were then conducted to the royal carriage-department, where Major-General Cuppage attended; and, having visited other machinery, they went up to the cadet barracks, where an elegant entertainment was prepared. The Prince and his staff took their station, and the brigade went through a variety of evolutions and rapid firing till near six o'clock. General Blucher, King and Prince of Prussia, and the foreign generals, appeared much interested in the general appointments of this brigade, and rode up to inspect the bores, limbers, &c. The last visit was to the royal repository, which forms an immense artillery depôt; and, after a minute examination, the royal party returned in their carriages to town, and dined with the Marquis of Stafford.

On the 14th June, the royal strangers visited Oxford, with the Prince Regent. Alexander and his amiable and accomplished sister arrived in an open barouche of the Prince's, drawn simply by four post-horses. The Emperor was dressed in a plain blue coat, wore his hair without powder, and with his hat continued bowing to the people, constantly and gracefully, the whole way up the High Street. The Emperor and his sister drove to Merton College; where they were received by the warden, and conducted to very elegant apartments. The illustrious visitors, in less than half an hour, having joined, proceeded, through the eastern entrance, to wait on the Prince Regent, in his rooms in Christ Church. The chancellor and the dean received them uncovered at the door. The Prince, having assumed his academic robe, and his black velvet cap adorned with a gold tassel, came

came forth, followed by the Emperor and his sister, the Duke of York and the King of Prussia, the young Prussian princes, with the hereditary Prince of Orange, and a number of foreign nobility, &c.

Their first object was the hall of Christ Church, with which they were much delighted: the cathedral and library were also inspected. From Christ Church they proceeded to Merton, where Dr. Vaughan, the warden, conducted them through the college and gardens into the broad walk of Christ Church. Magdalen College, Queen's, and All Souls, in turn occupied their attention: but the attention of the royal party was chiefly arrested, and their admiration most evident, at the chapel of New College. The party then honoured the Clarendon Press, with their presence, and from thence proceeded to the Bodleian Library, with which they were highly pleased.

The banquet at the Radcliff Library, was the next object of attraction. The imperial and royal parties assembled in the library of All Souls College; and, at half past seven, proceeded to the library on a carpet laid across the street, and sat down to dinner. The upper gallery was thrown open to the populace, who were truly gratified by the magnificence of the sight. In the centre of the building directly under the dome, was placed a table covered with ornaments of plate. Around this, and so extensive as to occupy the whole circle within the arcades of the building, was placed a table almost circular; and, branching off from this in lines leading from the centre, five tables occupied the spaces under five of the eight arcades into which the exterior circle of the library is divided. In the centre of the circular table, sat the chancellor, with his illustrious guests. About 200 sat down to dinner, 50 of whom were considered as the Prince's party, and occupied that part of the table nearest to his Royal Highness. The tables were loaded with elegant plate. The dresses of the company were superb, many of the gentlemen being in court dresses or regimentals, and wearing, thrown loosely over them, the scarlet academic robe. The whole presented a scene scarcely ever equalled, owing to the beauty of the building, the perfect convenience for spectators, the rank of the guests, and the unique and classical effect which the robes gave to the whole scene. -At about eleven o'clock the

the party separated, to see the illuminations, which then blazed universally through the streets of Oxford. Between twelve and one, a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning burst suddenly over the city, and a torrent of rain soon extinguished the numerous lights.

On the 15th, before eight, the ladies' seats in the theatre, where there is room for 600, were completely filled. The upper gallery and orchestra contained at least 900 under-graduates and bachelors. The area received the masters of arts, bachelors of law, &c. and the strangers admitted by tickets. About ten o'clock, the great door of the theatre opened. Dr. Crotch at the organ, accompanied by the whole band, played the march in the occasional overture; but, by desire of the Duchess of Oldenberg, the music ceased some time before the procession entered the theatre. At length his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, preceded by the beadles, proctor, vice-chancellor, and chancellor (for they walked in that order) appeared uncovered on the threshold, and in an instant thunders of applause pealed on every side. Next to his Royal Highness, came the Emperor Alexander, and then the King of Prussia, in their robes as doctors of law. Then followed the Duchess of Oldenberg, accompanied by the Duke of York; the Russian and foreign princes and noblemen, and all the honorary members of the university who were present: the heads of houses, and doctors, formed the rest of this beautiful and unique procession. The applause had continued long after the whole had reached their places; and the assembly of between two and three thousand persons continued standing till it had been loudly intimated by the Prince, and repeated by the Chancellor, that his Royal Highness wished every one to be seated. It is hardly possible to describe the grandeur of the scene. Above the rest of the university, to the left of the Prince, sat the Chancellor (Lord Grenville), in his robes of black and gold, and his long band of most exquisite lace. Even with the Chancellor on the right, sat the Duchess of Oldenberg, in a simple dress of white satin, and no ornament on her head: and still higher than all, the three sovereigns were seated on superb chairs of crimson velvet and gold, and their feet resting on footstools of the same. The chair of the Prince Regent was surmounted by a
plume

The public orator now appeared in the rostrum, from whence he addressed the Regent and his royal guests in an elegant Latin oration, which was delivered in an impressive and energetic manner. After this Dr. Phillimore, the regius professor of civil law, delivered a panegyric upon the two great monarchs, on whom the degree of Doctor in Civil Law by diploma had been conferred. The chancellor, upon this, delivered the diploma of the Emperor to the two proctors, with a command to present it to his Imperial majesty; which was accordingly done. The like ceremony was observed with respect to the King of Prussia. The chancellor then proposed a diploma degree to the Duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to Prince Metternich the prime-minister of the Emperor of Austria, Count Lieven the Russian ambassador, and to Prince Blucher. The three latter were accordingly introduced, and presented by the regius professor of civil law. The Latin speeches of Dr. Phillimore, on presenting each candidate, were highly classical; but particularly the one which recommended the venerable Blucher to the university, was pointed, vigorous, and appropriate. It was continually interrupted by the loudest cheerings; nor was the tumult of applause abated, till some time after the venerable warrior had, after repeatedly bowing, both to the assembly, the prince, and his sovereign, retired to his appointed seat. Eight original congratulatory addresses, in verse, were then recited: these were also honoured with general applause. The Prince and Royal Sovereigns paid the most marked attention to these compositions. Each got

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up, on a compliment paid to him, and made his acknowledgment by a low bow. On one occasion, on the mention of his Royal Father, the Prince rose and made three bows, and seemed visibly affected. His Royal Highness afterwards marked his approbation of particular passages by inclinations of the head, and those particularly, in which allusion was made to the forbearance and moderation displayed by the allied powers in the midst of victory. The Chancellor now dissolved the convocation; and the procession left the theatre in the same order it entered.

The Prince Regent and the allied Sovereigns then honoured the corporation of Oxford with a visit, in their council-chamber. The city fitted up the whole interior of the town-hall with flights of seats for 600 spectators, leaving an avenue, railed off and carpeted, for the passage of the procession. Upon the arrival of the procession in the council-chamber, a loyal address to the Prince was read by the town-clerk, which his Royal Highness received most graciously, conferring the honour of knighthood on the reader: the mayor received the same distinction. The honorary freedom of the city was then announced as having been voted to the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Hereditary Prince of Orange, the Prince of Mecklenburg, Prince Metternich, Prince Blucher, and several other illustrious personages. At one o'clock, the royal party, attended by the Chancellor and Lord Sidmouth (one of the trustees), visited the observatory. The professor of astronomy, pointed out its most striking features, and the different instruments, with which they were highly pleased; and, at two, partook of an elegant breakfast at All Souls College. Soon after which the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left the university, on a tour to Blenheim and Stowe.

The Emperor and Grand-Duchess did not return to London, until Thursday the 23d, in the morning, between two and three o'clock; and as they rode in an open carriage, they suffered from the effects of a thunder-storm, and heavy fall of rain. The Emperor, however, had engaged himself to Lady Jersey's ball; and therefore, changing his dress, joined that lady's party, and remained until six o'clock.

At eleven, his Imperial Majesty went to St. Paul's cathedral, to witness the annual assemblage of charity children; a sight which appeared to interest him more than any thing he had yet seen in England.

On Friday morning, notwithstanding he had been dancing all the preceding night, at the Marchioness of Hertford's, he was out again by eleven, accompanied by the Grand-Duchess. They proceeded to the military asylum at Chelsea; from thence to Chelsea Hospital; the manufactory at Battersea, where iron shoes and screws are made; and then to Greenwich, to view the hospital and naval asylum. His Majesty returned to dine with the merchants and bankers of London, at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

On Saturday a grand fête was given by the city, to the Prince Regent and his royal guests; upon which occasion, the procession to Guildhall was the same as on the first visit of the King to the city after his coronation, and the whole fête was conducted on ancient precedents.

Such was the eagerness of the people to obtain a view of this magnificent sight, that five, ten, fifteen, and even twenty guineas, were given for seats in favourable situations. The cavalcade set off from Carlton House about four o'clock. It consisted of numerous state and other carriages, troops of cavalry and infantry, of various descriptions, yeomen, heralds, &c. superbly arrayed. The Prince Regent was accompanied by the King of Prussia and the Prince of Orange. His carriage, which was drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, was preceded and followed by detachments of guards. The Emperor Alexander and his sister, in the Regent's state chariot, drawn by six horses, followed at some distance. The whole was closed by a body of cavalry. When they reached Temple-bar, they were met by the Lord Mayor, and city officers on horseback. The horses as well as the men were magnificently dressed; and such was the beauty of the beasts, both from the east and the west, and so gorgeously were they ornamented, that they came in for a large share of the admiration of the public. The company, on reaching Guildhall, entered by a covered illuminated passage. The hall itself had been decorated under the direction of Mr. Dance the architect,

with great taste and ability. By an external erection, he had, it seems, contrived to illuminate the painted windows, so as to throw into the hall the rich and warm influence of light, with which all the gothic divisions of the two windows were articulated; and which, striking on the brilliant circle of females in the galleries beneath, spread a glow on the faces of the ladies, whose head-dresses sparkled with diamonds, that had an effect which no painter could possibly equal. The animation and brilliancy of the scene was unequalled by any thing ever seen in any country. Lord Wellesley is reported to have said, that it surpassed any thing he had ever seen of eastern magnificence. The walls were hung with bright crimson cloth up to a gallery for the ladies, above which there was a beautiful cordon of lamps. The two monuments of the Earl of Chatham and Mr. Pitt were left uncovered; magnificent chandeliers of cut glass were suspended from the roof; and there was a blaze of gold and silver candelabras with wax lights on all the tables.

The three Sovereigns, the Duchess of Oldenberg, the Royal Dukes, the foreign princes, marshals, ambassadors, peers, ministers, judges, ladies, &c. &c. having all entered, the Recorder made a speech of welcome to the Regent and royal visitors. The Regent very graciously replied, and then conferred the honour of knighthood on the Lord Mayor. At seven, dinner was announced; and the royal guests marched in procession round the tables, while the bands of music played the popular air of "O, the roast beef of Old England!" The sovereigns then advanced to the east end of the Hall, where a platform was raised, on which the royal table was placed. The Prince was seated here, in a gilt chair, under a sumptuous canopy, composed of rich crimson velvet and crimson sarsnet, superbly fringed and decorated with lace, ropes, tassels, &c. all of gold. On his right hand sat the Emperor, the Duke of York, &c.; on his left, the King of Prussia, the Grand-Duchess, &c.: in all, twenty-five persons. The display of gold plate at this table was prodigious. Candelabras, epergnes, tureens, ewers, cups, dishes, glaciers, &c. glittered in every part, to which the wax lights gave the most brilliant effect. All the companies had sent in their plate; and the whole was valued

at

at upwards of £200,000. The Lord Mayor stood behind the Regent's chair for some time, until he was dismissed by the Prince, when he removed to one of the other three tables. Behind the Emperor Alexander's chair stood for some time also Lord Yarmouth.

The dinner consisted of every rarity; and in its preparation neither skill nor cost had been spared. Among the toasts, "The King" was drank in silence; "The Prince Regent," "The Emperor of all the Russias," "The King of Prussia," "The Emperor of Austria," "The King of Spain," all with three times three. "God save the King," and other national airs, were sung. In "Rule Britannia," when they came to the stanza—

"With matchless beauty grac'd,"

The *coup d'œil* of beauty that surrounded the Hall struck as by electricity every heart in the room; and a burst of acclamation was the consequence. The Prince seized the opportunity to propose a toast, "The Lady Mayoress, and the Ladies in the Hall," which was drunk with enthusiasm.

At half-past ten, the royal party withdrew to take coffee, and shortly afterwards left the Hall, in the same state in which they came. The marshal's men, and all their attendants, had flambeaux in their hands, which gave the procession a novel and brilliant appearance. It arrived at St. James's just before twelve o'clock.

On Monday morning, the Emperor Alexander and King of Prussia, with all the foreign princes, accompanied by the Prince Regent, witnessed a splendid review in Hyde Park, of all the troops that were in the neighbourhood of London. About ten o'clock, the Duke of York entered the Park, accompanied by a numerous staff. Soon after, the firing of a gun announced that the royal personages had entered the Park. They were preceded by a detachment of the 10th Hussars: the Prince Regent had on his left the Emperor of Russia, and on his right the King of Prussia. The *cortege* of the sovereigns, was extremely numerous, and of the most brilliant description, comprising all the distinguished military characters at present in London. Among others, Marshal Blucher, Prince Platoff, Lords Hill and Beresford, were recognized and cheered by the spectators. The effect of the whole was impressive, from the richness and variety

variety of the uniforms, but, above all, from that singular combination of august and powerful sovereigns, and of men who had conferred the greatest benefits on Europe by their military talent. The royal party, commencing with the extreme right, rode along the whole of the line, and were received with presented arms by the different corps. They then took their stations near the centre of the Park, when a *feu de joye*, in three successive rounds, was fired from right to left. The effect of this continuous fire was extremely fine, from the rapidity and precision with which it was executed. The different corps then defiled by companies in front of the royal personages, and in this order marched off the ground, which concluded the business of the review. We cannot accurately estimate the number of troops on the ground; but from the time occupied by their marching in review, we should suppose that they must have amounted to 15,000. The dragoons, in particular, were admirable for their equipment and martial appearance. The day, though lowering at times and rather cool, was, upon the whole, extremely favourable to the spectacle. We did not hear of any serious accident happening; though some of the lower orders, who perversely mounted on the trees in the Park, met with some falls by the breaking down of the branches.

In the evening, her Majesty held a private court, at which the Emperor of Russia and his sister, and the King of Prussia and his sons, were present; when they all formally took leave of her Majesty. The illustrious strangers afterwards went to a dress party at the Duke of Cambridge's; and, about twelve o'clock, attended Whites's grand fête at Burlington House. This entertainment, next to that at Guildhall, was the most splendid given to these royal personages. A temporary scaffolding, in front of the principal house entrance, was covered with lamps in devices, the Prince's feather in the centre. The chief rooms for the fête were temporary, and covered with canvas; but we have seldom seen decorations more richly or tastefully disposed. As the company passed to the different apartments, strong surprise was the natural feeling at the expedition and skill with which so much splendour had been produced. The principal rooms were four. The hall-room was divided into three grand

grand walks, by two rows of pillars reaching to the roof, and covered with white muslin in large flutings; the cieling was *à la marquée*, in strong folds, varied with rosettes of white, from which chandeliers hung, and light drapery borders. Fifty-four immense white curtains hung from the cieling, fastened with pink rosettes, and draped. The pillars, from their length and lightness, gave the entire vast hall a peculiar impression of elegance. A small recess for the musicians was hollowed out at the end opposite the principal; at the extreme, a *Glory* was formed. The whole roof and sides were covered with white muslin. The floor was chalked in large compartments: that at the head covered with the British and allied arms; the border and intermediate spaces deep yellow; the elevated plateaux on either side covered with scarlet cloth. The promenade room was the next source of attraction. It was lined throughout with rose-coloured muslin in flutes; its roof grained, and covered with white and rose colour. The beauty and effect of this scene, filled with a multitude of the first women in England, all that was lovely in youth and eminent in rank, and in rich attire, cannot be adequately described.

The company began to dance at half-past twelve o'clock, led off with waltzes by the Emperor of Russia and the Countess of Jersey. The young Prussian princes were likewise among the first who danced. There were waltzing parties at the upper end of the ball-room, and country-dances below. In the centre sat the Prince Regent, in a chair of state, to which he was conducted, with his usual etiquette, by the Dukes of Richmond, Beaufort, and Grafton. On the right and left were six other chairs of state, covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with burnished gold: the one on the right was empty; that on the left was occupied by the King of Prussia. At half-past one, the pink drapery curtains, in the centre of the promenade room, disappeared, as if by enchantment, and presented to view the royal supper-rooms, elevated on a platform, covered with scarlet cloth. The sovereigns, and the illustrious branches of their families, then took their seats, mustering in all 24. Below, were two other tables; the first for the foreign ministers and their suites, the next for English dukes and marquisses. The sight now presented was very grand:

grand: sideboards, with tiers of gold plate, extending from the roof to the floor; tables decorated with urns, cups, epergnes, and candelabras, of gold; the company in richly embroidered uniforms, wearing a profusion of stars and garters; the magnificently-proportioned chandeliers, of the richest paste-glass, suspended above;—all contributed to astonish and confound the senses. Behind the Emperor of Russia's chair stood the Duke of Grafton; the Prince Regent's, the Duke of Richmond; and the King of Prussia's, the Duke of Devonshire. The Emperor is neither a *gourmand* nor an epicure: he did not do much honour to the banquet; in less than ten minutes he arose and returned to the ball-room, where his Majesty singled out a very young lady, and went down two country-dances. Of the taste and judgment displayed in the dancing, it is impossible to speak in adequate terms of praise. The Emperor is an excellent dancer; French cotillions and figures, English and Scotch country-dances, waltzes, minuets, or reels—none came amiss to him. His Majesty kept the *light fantastic toe* in motion till nearly six o'clock in the morning, declaring, that as it was probably the last dance he should take in this country, it should be a *spell*. Almost the whole of the fashionable world were there, mustering 2400 persons. The King of Prussia did not dance, but walked about most of the evening, and appeared highly gratified with what he saw.

On Tuesday, after his Imperial Majesty had breakfasted, a deputation from the Society of Friends (Quakers) was introduced to offer to the Emperor an address, and some books explanatory of their religious tenets.

On Wednesday morning, at nine o'clock, the Emperor, the Grand-Duchess, her son, and the Prince of Wirttemberg, departed from London, in an open carriage of the Prince Regent's. As they were getting in, a woman presented a book to the Emperor, which he handed to a page on the steps; another woman presented him with a very fine rose, which the Emperor gave to the Grand-Duchess, and she placed it in her bosom. The carriage then drove off, amidst the loud huzzas of the populace; but the numbers were few in comparison to what there had generally been, in consequence of its not being publicly known that they were now to depart. The carriage

riage drove to the Tower, and after that to other places; and passed over London Bridge at half-past twelve o'clock, in their way to the seat of Lord Liverpool, at Coombe Wood, to breakfast; from thence they proceeded to Portsmouth, where they arrived in the dusk of the evening.

On Thursday morning the 24th, the Prince Regent, who entered Portsmouth the preceding afternoon, rode in his carriage to the dock-yard, where he was met by the allied sovereigns, the Royal Dukes, the Duchess of Oldenberg, and a numerous retinue of general officers. After paying a visit at the house of the Honourable C. Grey, the commissioner of the yard, his Royal Highness and suite embarked in the King's barge, and the illustrious strangers embarked in the port admiral's barge, amid the cheers of the town. Fourteen ships of the line, chiefly of first rate, were moored at anchor, in two lines, from south-east to north-west, extending nearly four miles. The vessels were the *Ville de Paris*, *St. Domingo*, *Bedford*, *Rodney*, *Chatham*, *Prince*, *Tigre*, *Queen*, *Sceptre*, *Magnificent*, *Montague*, *Stirling Castle*, and the flag ship, *Impregnable*, on board of which the distinguished visitors assembled. On the arrival of the Prince Regent's barge within sight of the fleet, a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired by the whole fleet at once.

On the barge bearing the royal standard reaching the flag-ship, the flag of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was struck, and the royal standard, of new and exquisite workmanship, hoisted on the main-top-gallant mast head. It was also saluted with twenty-one guns by the whole fleet at once. The *Impregnable* hoisted the Union flag at the mizen, and that of the Admiralty at the fore-top-gallant mast head; and on the Prince Regent arriving on board, the crew welcomed him with three cheers, and the band played "God save the King." Four frigates and other vessels of war were under weigh during the whole time, manœuvring, and skilfully displaying their naval tactics.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his illustrious visitors, returned to the Sally-port, where they landed at four o'clock. The royal standard having been struck on board the *Impregnable*, with the yards again

manned, a third royal salute by the whole fleet was fired, and a fourth by the party landing, by signal from the platform. The admirals and captains of the fleet assembled on board the flag-ship by signal, and accompanied the Prince Regent on shore in procession. Ten thousand troops were drawn up in Portsmouth; and a *feu de joye* was fired, and repeated several times, with great dexterity. The officers of the fleet, and a distinguished number, dined with the Prince Regent at the Government House*.

* The spectacle of a naval review could not fail of being extremely interesting to the Emperor Alexander; who, at the commencement of his reign, had obtained permission to distribute three hundred boys, who had been selected and previously prepared by the Russian government, in quality of midshipmen on board the British fleets. The author of a pamphlet, entitled "A Sketch of the Political State of Europe at the beginning of February 1805," objects very strongly to this permission. "These boys," says he, "have been admitted, in my opinion, most injudiciously, to serve in our navy at that period of life at which our own midshipmen usually begin their career; and, having been picked out of numbers, on account of their superior intelligence and sprightliness, it is very evident that they are likely to derive every advantage from their apprenticeship which could be hoped for from the same number of British boys so chosen. They must inevitably be familiarized with the whole ground-work and system of naval tactics as they are practised in the British navy. This science and skill they will carry with them into their own country, where they will probably fill important situations, and lay the foundation of a Russian navy, which at some future period may rival our's. The period when this may happen is, no doubt, remote; yet this is the surest mode of lessening that distance of time: and, I think, posterity will owe little thanks to that foresight or prudence which has so impolitically conceded, and which, carried to a greater extent, may be productive of very serious mischief." We make this extract of sentiments which are, perhaps, popular in this country, to protest nevertheless against them. We do not at all participate in the alarm of the author upon this head; but, on the contrary, see in the increase of the Russian naval strength an accession to our own. It is desirable, that there should be a perpetual friendship between the two empires, and nothing is so likely to conduce to it as equality of power. It is of the highest importance to the Russians to preserve an amicable intercourse with this country; and their attention to the improvement of their navy can have no reference to the possibility of any other situation. Human foresight or prudence is in general selfish, and always short-sighted; it will, however, be found that history contains no example of its success against those plans of Providence for the growth and civilization of nations, the progress of which is not to be impeded by the interference of any limited interest.

From



Marshal Blücher

From Portsmouth, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, the Duchess of Oldenberg, and others of the illustrious visitors, pursued their journey to Dover, where they embarked, amidst the shouts and cheerings of an immense number of people, who had assembled to witness their departure.

All the royal party carried with them the blessings of the people they had been amongst, and left behind them an impression favourable to the continuance of their popularity. If the manner of his Majesty the King of Prussia was less obtrusive, less animated by joyful sensations, than his august ally, the sympathy he created excited but little less interest.

The Emperor Alexander, during his fortnight's residence in London, as we have seen, was indefatigable in the pursuit of information. He seemed scarcely to allow himself to eat, drink, or sleep, so determined he was to see all that was worthy of observation; and when he was not so occupied, the sacrifice was to the curiosity of the people, who were so anxious to behold the conqueror of the tyrant. His Imperial Majesty's sister, the Grand-Duchess of Oldenberg, had, by her previous exertions, acquired the ability to direct and assist the Emperor in his interesting pursuit.

We shall here conclude this Memoir of the public life of the Emperor Alexander. It opened with the most beneficent plans for the welfare of the great family of Europe, and closes with their achievement. Happy will it be for the world, if his love of peace and practical forbearance prove an antidote to that thirst for military glory which has been so unfortunately excited in the French people by the man who had no other means for the maintenance of his power. Thrice happy would it be, if the illustrious example before us should become the object of noble emulation, and the CHRISTIAN SOLDIER alone entitled to our respect.

Memoirs of the Public Life
OF
MARSHAL VON BLUCHER,
PRINCE DE WAGSTADT.

IN the preceding Memoir we have sufficiently expatiated on the importance of those achievements which have had for their object the destruction of a military despotism that threatened to bring back the ages of barbarism. It is most creditable to the people of this country, and indicative of a right feeling, that the heroes, who have fought and conquered in the good cause, have been received with a warmth of affection and applause exceeding almost the bounds of decorum.

There is no man, after the Emperor Alexander, who has experienced (we were about to say, suffered) more of this enthusiastic expression of the people's grateful affection than the Marshal Prince Blucher; and it is in deference to the *vox populi* that we hasten to record all that we can of the public actions of this great man.

It is much to be regretted that the whole military life of the Marshal, the greater part of which involves a series of brilliant actions, and an example of the most devoted patriotism, has not yet come before the public in any authentic shape, at least so much of it as passed previous to the year 1805.

We are informed, that Marshal Von Blucher, general and commander-in-chief of the late Silesian army, is seventy-two years of age. That he was born in 1742, at his father's country-seat, in Pomerania, and has been in the service of his country ever since his fifteenth year. He commenced his military career in the seven year's war, under the patronage and command of the celebrated ZIETEN, the friend and favourite of Frederick the Great. His military education was, therefore, in the greatest school

school in Europe. Of an impetuous character of mind, and great activity of body, Blucher preferred the cavalry; and entered into the regiment of Red Hussars, which had acquired peculiar distinctions for its bravery on different occasions, but particularly for defeating the French in the memorable battle of Rosbach. In this regiment the marshal continued twenty years, when he took offence at the promotion of a junior officer to his prejudice; his remonstrances on the subject were disregarded at court, where his rival had higher interest; and he had no mode left to appease the indignation of his mind at the injustice done him, but to demand his discharge. This he received, and for some years he lived in retirement, occupied in the cultivation of his paternal estates.

There is every reason to believe, that his leisure was employed in literary pursuits and the study of the fine arts. His late proclamations bear evident traits of an elegant mind and cultivated understanding. His intercourse with the great was still kept up, and the passing events had their full share of his attention: he was well known to the different administrations of the Prussian government, although absent from his profession; but during the reign of Frederick the Great was not restored to the service. He however regularly appeared, as a spectator, at the grand annual reviews; and at one of these, after the death of Frederick II., he was noticed by Frederick William II., who restored him to his rank. From this period he began to ascend most rapidly to eminence. He very soon obtained a squadron in his old regiment of hussars; and soon after, on the death of the colonel, his rank. He now came into perpetual service, his regiment being under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick; and his name and actions acquired great reputation on the banks of the Rhine during the revolutionary campaigns. The various attacks which he made were all similar and characteristic. It was his plan to rush upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity; to retire upon meeting with serious resistance; to place himself at a distance, and, minutely watching the enemy's movements, to take advantage of every indication of weakness and disorder by a fresh attack, and then to dart upon his opponents with the rapidity of lightning, cut his way into their ranks, carry off some hundreds of prisoners, and retire

retire again. This was the Marshal's usual manœuvre, and its success obtained for him considerable military reputation, particularly at Kieinviller.

It will be necessary now to give a short sketch of the situation of Prussia during a period of ten years inglorious peace, which called for no exertion of the military talents of such men as Blucher.

After the separation of Prussia from the first confederacy against republican France, she had maintained a cautious, selfish, but strict neutrality. During the wars which ensued, her government seemed to view with complacency the difficulties to which her rival, Austria, was reduced; and the promise which such an event as the lowering of that power held forth, of her gaining a predominancy in the Germanic body, was too great a temptation to her not to persist in the same line of conduct. It was certain that the French availed themselves of their customary intrigues to maintain a party at Berlin ready at all times to forward their views and interests. But, to whatever causes the conduct of Prussia was owing, it is equally certain, that it was calculated to produce the utmost benefit to the projects of Buonaparte; while, at the same time, profiting by the disturbed state of the neighbouring powers, her own commerce and revenues rapidly improved, her armies were numerous and well appointed, and industry and prosperity were to be found diffused in every direction throughout her dominions. Such was the smiling aspect of the affairs of Prussia at the commencement of the year 1805. The time, however, was fast approaching, when the King of Prussia was to expiate most severely his mistaken policy.

Even at this period, secure in the relations of amity and peace with the French nation, he was doomed to experience an insult most pointed and glaring, in the infraction of one of the first laws of neutrality, by the passage of a French army through the territory of Anspach, from Wurtzburg to the Danube.

The surprise and indignation of all ranks of people throughout the Prussian dominions, at this bold and unprecedented step of the French Emperor, was extreme; and vengeance for the insult was demanded from every quarter. The hopes of the allies were revived, and fresh solicitations were poured in upon the King to declare himself

himself a party in the war, and thus avenge himself for so gross an injury. The British government lost no time in dispatching Lord Harrowby to the court of Berlin on a special mission, to negotiate a treaty, and offer subsidies in case of co-operation. And even the government of Prussia itself seemed at length roused, by this flagrant breach of public laws, to some sense of its dignity and its wrongs. Immediate preparations were made for hostilities; the garrisons of Berlin and Potsdam were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field, and the regular troops were ordered to the frontiers. But all this shew of heat and preparation evaporated in empty boasting. Before any decision was taken, the capture of Ulm, and the total discomfiture of General Mack's army, disposed the Prussian councils to pass over the affront received; and Count Haugwitz was dispatched to treat with Buonaparte at his head-quarters: an accommodation speedily took place; and thus was lost an opportunity, never after retrieved, for Prussia to sustain her own national honour, and rescue Europe from the grasp of France, and from all the train of evils consequent on the battle of Austerlitz.

During the deliberations at Paris on the subject of peace with Russia and England, it was sufficiently understood by Prussia, that Hanover had been insisted on by England, and agreed to be yielded by England. The interest occasioned by this circumstance was not small. Hanover had long been the favourite object of Prussian ambition; this had been the successful lure offered by Buonaparte to prevent her union with the third coalition; this had been the price of her honour, the reward of her perfidy. But the very power which put her in possession, now would force her to abandon it. She was offered, indeed, some frivolous substitute; so minute, however, as to excite the overwhelming conviction, that she had been treacherous for trifles instead of solid acquisitions, and gained scarcely any thing to compensate the loss of her honour. The cabinet of France, which had tempted her degradation, seemed now to despise her baseness, to defy her power, and laugh at her folly; and, having helped to accomplish her guilt, to exult in the exposure of her infamy. In addition to these impressive and poignant circumstances, the federation of the Rhine had

had given her considerable uneasiness and alarm. Agreeably to the suggestion of France itself, Prussia had been taking measures for forming a similar confederacy in the North, under her own immediate presidency; yet, scarcely had these measures commenced, when Buonaparte thought proper to interfere for the prevention of their success, under the allegation, that Prussia was employing compulsion on independent powers to effect this object of her policy. In short, these and various other causes tended to bring to an issue the uncertainty of that relation which had long subsisted; that irritable state which, under general professions of respect and attachment, one party indicated fear and the other contempt; and in which repeated concessions had led only to renewed and aggravated encroachments.

But, as there is a point of degradation and insult at which even cowardice is stimulated into courage, the Prussian court appeared to be now assuming that line of decided hostility, which a long retrospect of French injury and contumely, even in such a court, might be expected to excite; especially when impelled, as it was, by the ardour of the military, and the general indignation of the people.

Upon the rupture, therefore, of the negotiations on the part of England and Russia, and just before the departure of the English minister, Lord Lauderdale, the discussions between France and Prussia had advanced to a point which left but little chance of friendly arrangement. The tone of the Prussian court was that of firmness; the troops were animated with high enthusiasm in the expectation of hostilities, which they conceived the honour of the nation had long since required; the zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army; various towns and provinces proposed to raise and maintain regiments at their own expense; and the students of the university of Halle requested permission to constitute themselves into a regiment of hussars. The disposition of the court was equally approved by foreign powers as by the Prussian subjects. The King of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus afforded of checking the power and ambition of the French Emperor, and dispatched a letter, written with his own hand, to the King of Prussia; the object and effect

effect of which was to produce the oblivion of past altercations, and the restoration of that confidence and amity which had hitherto been suspended. The Prussian vessels also in the ports of Great Britain were speedily liberated; and, to cherish the spirit of hostility against France, and give it a direction of the greatest possible effect against that government, by producing a system of combined operations, an English minister (Lord Morpeth) was dispatched to the court of Berlin, with proposals of a very comprehensive description, no less than the actual co-operation of a considerable English force with the Prussian army; which, with the vast force of the Russian Emperor, might ensure a greater probability of success than could attend any single-handed exertion on the part of Prussia.

The preparations of Prussia were met with at least equal alertness on the part of Bonaparte, who left Paris on the 24th September to join his armies. In the mean time, discussions were continued; and even so late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were at the headquarters of their respective armies, a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to those of the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment.

Within a very few days after, however, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet. From this interesting paper it appeared that Prussia felt herself now completely committed; her tone was decisive, her epithets unqualified, her indignation fluent and unrestrained. It contained, however, statements of its own humiliation and political degradation, which it must have been very painful and perhaps improper to make.

Both parties presumed themselves now ready for the conflict; and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that, on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of hostilities, she appears to have refrained from attempting to obtain assistance from other powers.

The French army advanced in three divisions: the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth on

their advance upon Hoff; the centre was composed of the reserve, under Murat, with the corps of Bernadotte and Marshal Davoust; and the Imperial guards marched by Bamberg towards Cronach, and by way of Saalberg and Schleitz to Gera; the left, consisting of the troops of Marshal Lasnes and Augereau, took their route for Schweinfurth towards Coburg and Saalfeld. The Prussian, having its right under GENERAL BLUCHER, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenloe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Frankfort on the Maine. The campaign opened with the battle of Schleitz. Three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry; but the efforts of the French were finally successful, with a loss on the side of the Prussians of nearly 700 killed, wounded, and taken. Five hundred waggons, containing articles of great utility for the prosecution of the campaign, fell into the hands of the victors.

On the tenth, the left wing of the French was equally successful, under Marshal Lasnes, against Graffenthal. After the continuance of a cannonade for about two hours, the Prussian cavalry was cut off by the French hussars; and their infantry, being unable to affect an orderly retreat, were obliged in part to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others were involved inextricably in a marshy ground, where they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement, Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the King, was killed by marshal of the the tenth regiment of French hussars, with whom he was engaged in individual combat; his merits were such as occasioned general regret, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle.

These inauspicious results of the commencement of operations excited strong sensations of doubt and apprehension at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed, on the 12th, in a situation of considerable danger. The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, which had been adopted with a boldness equal to the promptitude and success with which it was executed, and to interpose himself between the forces of his enemy and their depôts and resources. The Prussian army

army occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar; and it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick to have commenced hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left on Bamberg. The arrangements for this plan had been minutely prepared; and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel, and to other places, to act upon the offensive, and open the way to the invasion of Germany. But the French army had, by this time, unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian left wing, and got possession of the eastern bank of the Saale; occupying, within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gera. In consequence of this alarming circumstance, the arrangements of the Prussian army were somewhat changed: the detachments which had been precipitately urged forward, were called in; the head-quarters were removed from Blackenberg, through Weimar, to Auerstadt, while General Ruel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians, previous to the 13th, for the ensuing decisive struggle; and the army was drawn up near Capelsdorf, in order of battle.

On the day preceding the eventful contest, the Grand Duke of Berg (Murat) and Marshal Davoust were with their corps at Naumberg, to which place Bernadotte was in full march; Marshal Lasnes proceeded to Jena, where Bonaparte was also advancing, whilst his head-quarters were at Gera; Marshal Ney was at Rotha; and Marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena, for the convenience of a more advantageous position. In the afternoon of the 13th, Bonaparte arrived at Jena, and fixed upon a spot, important from its convenience for the play of artillery, to which the cannon were with great difficulty got up; and vast numbers of troops were employed for a great part of the night in making a passage over the intervening ruts, in filling up hollows, and levelling projections, until at length, and after immense labour, the artillery was fixed upon the chosen ground. Marshal Davoust was ordered to defend the passes near Naumberg, and those also of Koosen, which it would be a grand object of the Prussians to gain, in order to reach Apolda and attack him from behind; and if the Prussians bent strongly towards

Naumberg or Jena, Bernadotte (then Prince of Ponte Corvo) was instructed to fall upon their rear. General Victor, having the command of the whole corps of Marshal Lasnes, was placed upon the level height over against the Prussians, who were thought however not to be fully aware of the extent of the force so situated, and which every mode was taken to conceal. Between the wings, into which the corps of Lasnes was divided, were placed, on the most commanding point, the Imperial guards, formed into a square battalion.

The night of the 13th was solemnly and sublimely interesting; every sound on either side could be distinctly heard by the other. The sentinels were almost close to each other; and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon-shot distance: in one case, illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march; in the other, concentrated within a comparatively small compass. On both sides all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching; and at break of day all the French troops were under arms. Those which could not be admitted, for want of space, on the height, extended themselves beneath, through passes of extreme narrowness and difficulty, which had been discovered from the town and neighbouring villages. The morning was obscured by a fog, which lasted for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry.

The light troops began the action by a very smart fire, which dislodged the Prussians from an inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar. In consequence of this dislodgment, the French were enabled to stretch out, without restraint, on the plain, where they now arranged in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumberg, and possess themselves of the passes of Koosen, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one amounting to 80,000 men, placed themselves before the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. The mist which had hung over the combatants now dissipated, and

and both armies beheld each other within the distance of cannon-shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been obliged to quit their position, the village of Holstet became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to drive the French from it, when Marshal Lasnes was ordered for its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing, under General Blucher, made a movement against the left of the French, which was opposed by Marshal Augereau, and in less than an hour the action became general.

Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with precision; while 250,000 men, and 700 pieces of cannon, were scattering death on every side, and displayed one of the most affecting spectacles ever performed on the theatre of the world.

After a struggle of nearly two hours, Marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward; while, at the same instant, the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and the two divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of General Ney, were ordered into action, and so strengthened the French line, that the Prussians were thrown into great disorder on their left. This disorder, however, they retrieved for about the space of an hour; and, greatly through the exertions of General Blucher, who commanded the right of the Prussians, the battle was so far restored, that even the French allowed, "that there was room for a moment's doubt," and appearances were favourable to the Prussians.

The dragoons and cuirassiers, under Murat, however, now were able to take part in the engagement; and the superiority of numbers bore down upon the Prussians in great confusion. The shock was irresistible, both by their cavalry and infantry. They formed into a square; but in vain opposed themselves against the impetuosity of the charge, by which they were completely overwhelmed.

The loss of the Prussians in this battle was little less than 40,000 men, killed, wounded, and taken, including about twenty generals; among whom, were General Ruchel and the Duke of Brunswick, both wounded.

Weimar, and the fortresses of Erfurth, Magdeburg, Stettin,

Stettin, Prenzlau, and Spandau, soon after fell into the hands of the enemy.

After the unfortunate battle of Jena, General Blucher conducted the retreat of his division with remarkable ability in the face of the victorious enemy. It was his intention to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenloë, and to gain the Oder; and, by affording employment to several divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which, under the Prince of Württemberg, had suffered very materially at Halle, and had lost great part of its artillery, and been exhausted by forced marches, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with the corps under the Duke of Weimar and the Hereditary Duke of Brunswick. It consisted of 10,500 men. After various attempts to join Prince Hohenloë, in which Blucher's little army had been obliged several times to separate, although they rejoined after a variety of difficulties, and to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence, that the Prince had been obliged to capitulate at Prenzlau. After a succession of harassing attacks and rapid marches, and several invitations to capitulate, he found himself compelled to take the direction to Hamburgh or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg (Murat) was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was resolved upon, and was accomplished; but here, to his great distress and indignation, treachery combined against him, with the troops of the French, who soon filled the town. A contest now took place, which, in fierceness and horror, has rarely been exceeded. The squares and streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops were at length obliged to yield only to the superior forces of the enemy, and withdraw from the town. In the extreme want of ammunition, with reduced strength and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed,

ed, in these circumstances, absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men were frequently obliged to be left behind; but in which, notwithstanding the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having done his duty might well support him under disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

General Blucher was shortly after exchanged for General (now Marshal) Victor, Duke of Ragusa; and, returning to Königsberg, was sent, by sea, at the head of a division, to Swedish Pomerania, in order to assist in the defence of Stralsund, and generally to support the gallant efforts of the young King of Sweden.

It is unnecessary to follow the successes of the French, which nearly destroyed the Prussian monarchy. Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam on the 24th of October, and entered Berlin three days afterwards. At the former place he visited the palace and tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the order of the Black Eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years' war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude and glory, he caused to be removed to Paris, and presented to the Hotel of Invalids. These trophies the illustrious subject of our Memoir solemnly promised himself to use every effort to redeem, and he has lived to restore them to his country.

The Prussian fortresses in Silesia that held out the longest against the French, were Glatz and Saverberg. They capitulated at last about the end of the campaign, which begun on the 5th and ended on the 21st of June. Grandentz and Colberg, though vigorously besieged, still held out, when the negotiations for peace at Tilsit were entered into. The siege of this last place was fatal to thousands of the French. If all the governors of Prussian fortresses, from the 14th of October 1806, to the

14th of June 1807, had been animated with the fidelity and persevering courage of GENERAL BLUCHER, the issue of the war might have been very different.

The battle of Friedland closed the unfortunate campaign, and at Tilsit a peace was dictated, "equally hard and humiliating." Since that epoch, Prussia was treated as a conquered country, and oppressed by a yoke of iron. The French armies remained in it, contrary to the terms of the treaty, and lived at discretion on it during eighteen months; exorbitant and arbitrary contributions were imposed upon her; her commerce was ruined, by obliging her to adopt the continental system; French garrisons were placed in the three fortresses of the Oder; the country was obliged to defray the expence of their appointments; in short, by the treaty of Bayonne, the property of widows and orphans was disposed of, in manifest contradiction to the stipulations of the treaty of peace. By extraordinary and unheard-of efforts, Prussia succeeded in paying two-thirds of the contribution: she was preparing to pay the remainder, when clouds arose between Russia and France, whose immense preparations announced that war was about to be kindled in the North. The king, faithful to his principle of saving, at any price, (sad policy!) the national existence, and fearing every thing from France, concluded with her a treaty of alliance; but, before the news of the conclusion of it could have reached Berlin, French troops entered Pomerania and the Mauhe Electorate, to obtain, by force, what it appeared impossible to obtain by negotiation. The Prussians were compelled to provision and supply the wants of the grand army; but whilst she exhausted all her means to pour into the magazines the stipulated products, *the French armies lived at the expence of individuals.* The sacred property of the inhabitants was taken away, by main force, without any account being rendered of it; and the country lost, by these acts of violence, above 70,000 horses and 20,000 carriages. Whilst the weight of Prussia's expences, on account of the demands of the French, was indefinitely augmented—whilst she proved, that, after having paid her contribution, her advances amounted to enormous sums, all kinds of assistance were persisted in being refused her; all her demands were answered by a contemptuous silence, and with an incessant demand of fresh

fresh sacrifices : the inconceivable efforts of a burdened nation were considered as nothing. At the end of the year 1812, the advances by Prussia amounted to 94,000,000 of francs. The King never ceased to represent, through his agents, that his exhausted states could no longer suffice to support the French armies. These representations remained without notice, or produced only vague assurances and distant promises. At length, the King, seeing one part of his provinces invaded and the other menaced, without being able to rely upon the French armies for assistance, was obliged to reinforce his own ; and the ordinary way being tedious and insufficient, the King addressed an appeal to the young Prussians who wished to arrange themselves under his colours. This awakened in every heart the desire of serving the country. A great number of volunteers were preparing to leave Berlin for Breslaw, when Beauharnois, the commander of the French armies, (who in his disastrous flight from the Russians had taken refuge at Berlin) forbade the recruiting enjoined by the Royal Prussian decree, and the departure of the volunteers in the provinces occupied by the French troops. This attempt, so directly aimed at the rights of sovereignty, excited in the King and his faithful subjects the most lively indignation. At the same time, the French governors of the fortresses on the Oder received orders to take by main force, for a circle of two leagues, every thing that was requisite for their defence and provisioning.

The rapid approach of the victorious armies of Russia, the convention of General D'York to remain neutral with the troops under his command, and the cries of the people, determined the King what part to take. On the 15th of February, 1813, he proposed a truce, on condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula, and the French troops behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and all its fortresses free from foreign occupation. These propositions were sullenly rejected by Bonaparte; and accordingly, on the 22d of February, a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was mutually agreed upon by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and an active combined system of military operations arranged.

General Blucher, who was now appointed to the chief

command of the Silesian army, addressed the following proclamation, upon entering the Saxon territory.

“ Saxons! We Prussians enter your territory to offer you our fraternal hand. In the north of Europe the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of these strangers, by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth, which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones, and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back foreign oppression, and in the high feeling of its victors, have promised liberty to the subjugated nations.

“ We bring to you the morning purple of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke, which during the last six years dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war, unluckily commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the severest titles of that treaty, not one has been kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard conditions of the preceding one. For this reason, we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty.

“ Saxons! Ye are a noble, enlightened people! You know, that without independence, all the good things of this life, are, to noble minds, of little value—that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer. You will no longer permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your sons, dry up the spring of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the vandalism of your oppressive foreigners, wantonly and unmercifully destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the bridge of Dresden. Rise! join us—raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free.

“ Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the
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steps a treacherous policy forced him to take; we will no more attribute them to him, than cause you to suffer for them. We only take the provinces of your country under our care for your lord, which fortune, the superiority of our arms, the valour of our troops, may place in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and in return, expect from us the strictest discipline. Every application to me, the Prussian general, shall be open to all oppressed persons. I will hear complaints, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the very meanest, may with confidence approach me. I will receive him with kindness.

“ The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother; the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonourable despicable tool of foreign tyranny, I will pursue, with the utmost rigour, as an enemy to our common country.

23d March 1813.

(Signed)

“BLUCHER.”

The inhabitants of Saxony, every where received the troops of the allies with expressions of cordiality and friendship.

Prussia now became one great camp. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided into four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzien, Magzenbach, and Gotzen. The militia was called out; the levy-en-masse was preparing; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides; not less than 20,000 of the militia were collected at Königsberg, besides a reserve of 10,000.

Towards the latter end of April, the main armies of the Russians and Prussians were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Leipzig; Wittgenstein's head-quarters were at Doelisch, about twenty miles to the north, and BLUCHER's at Altenburg, about thirty miles to the south of that city. General D'York was in advance of Wittgenstein at Zerbig; and his detachments occupied Bernburg and Calbe. The allies made every exertion to prevent the junction of Bonaparte with Beauharnois, which was the intention of the enemy, in order to concentrate his forces on the right bank of the Saale, not far from the famous plain of Lutzen, where the great Gustavus fell
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in the arms of victory, which he was in a great measure able to effect.

In expectation of an immediate battle, the combined Russian and Prussian armies, under the chief command of Count Witgenstein, united between Leipsig and Altenburg, a central and advantageous position.

On the night between the 1st and 2d of May, the battle of Lutzen was commenced by Generals Blucher and D'York, who entered into it with an ardour and energy which was in a lively manner participated by the troops.

The two hostile armies met between Pegau and Lutzen; the enemy's army being under the command of the Emperor Napoleon in person. One of the most dreadful cannonades known in the latter annals of warlike operations took place: it continued from eleven o'clock until ten o'clock in the evening, when night alone put an end to it. During this cannonade, the fire of musquetry was nearly uninterruptedly kept up; and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attacks with the bayonet. Seldom or never was there a battle fought with such animosity, or so murderous. The French derived great advantage from position, on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, which they defended with a heavy fire of artillery. But the valour of the allied troops drove them back from one position to another: nor were they even to be deterred, when the superior defence of the enemy, in his last positions, rendered frequent attacks necessary.

The result of this warm day was, that the Russian and Prussian troops kept possession of the field of battle during the whole of the night, and caused the enemy a double or treble greater loss than their own. Above 1000 prisoners, with ten pieces of artillery, and likewise twenty-three powder-waggon, were taken from the enemy by General Von Winzingerode early in the morning of the 3d: but the animosity during the fight was too great to give much quarter. But the great consequence was, that the French were now convinced, by the Russian and Prussian troops, what might be performed by valour, when inflamed by noble enthusiasm in so great, just, and sacred a cause, and of what they might expect

expect when all the armed forces then collecting for the war should be assembled.

The loss of the Russian and Prussian troops was very great, not less than 10,000 men in killed and wounded; but most of the latter only slightly. Among the killed, was Major the Prince of Hesse-Homburg; and GENERAL BLUCHER among the wounded (he, however, only left the field half an hour); Generals Von Scharnhorst and Von Hünnerbein were also slightly wounded, as likewise the Russian generals Kanovnitzen and Alexief. But, besides these, an unusually greater proportion of officers, and also of the younger sons of native Prussia, were among the number of killed and wounded. The noble ardour with which these volunteers met death, in the just cause, insures them of being immortalized in the remembrance of their friends and of their native country.

On the morning of the 3d, the enemy attempted to make another attack on the allied troops, but was soon repulsed by some cannonading. To afford the latter some rest and refreshment, after their fatigue, they were taken into the positions of Borna and Rochlitz.

Marshal Bessieres and General Souham were among the killed on the enemy's side; and Marshal Ney was wounded.

After the battle of Lutzen, the King of Saxony, who was expected to remain neuter, joined his forces to those of Bonaparte; the allies, therefore, re-crossed the Elbe, and the French entered Dresden on the 8th of May.

The retreat of the allies was conducted with so much precision and accuracy, that they did not lose a single gun or gun-carriage; and they took up the first formidable position that the country presented, and in which their whole front was covered for several miles by the river Spree.

Bonaparte in person joined his principal army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th; his force consisted of about 80,000 men, 10,000 guards, 14,000 cavalry, and a very numerous artillery. On his left was placed General Bertrand, who was not only to threaten the right of the allied army, but to detach a division to communicate with another great army Bonaparte had put in motion at the
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the same time from Hoyerswerda, a place about thirty miles to the north of Bautzen: the latter force consisted of from 50 to 60,000 men, under Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier. It was Bonaparte's plan, that these should turn the right of the allies, whilst he himself attacked them in front.

The commander-in chief of the allies, Count Witgenstein, having penetrated Bonaparte's scheme in detaching Ney and Lauriston so far to the left, immediately resolved to counteract it, by attacking them separately, before they were sufficiently advanced in march to co-operate with the main army: this was successfully performed by General Barclay de Tolly, who totally routed Lauriston's corps; whilst General D'York encountered Ney, and effectually kept him in check, although with a very inferior force.

On the 21st was fought the bloody battle of Bautzen, the particulars of which are amply given in the preceding Memoir. General Blucher's corps, with Count Witgenstein's and General Miloradovitch's, joined the left of the allies.

In the course of the action, when it was perceived that General Barclay de Tolly was pressed by immense odds, General Blucher was ordered to move to the right and attack the enemy in flank.

General Blucher was afterwards supported by Generals Kleist and D'York, and here a most sanguinary contest ensued; these attacks succeeded in checking the enemy. A charge of 4000 of the allied cavalry on the columns of the enemy's infantry, which had carried the village of Krecknitz, completely repulsed them, and the Prussians again occupied it. Still these efforts were arrested by the enemy's bringing up fresh troops. The allies were therefore induced to change their position.

On the 26th of May, a most brilliant affair took place, between the cavalry under the orders of General Blucher, and a division of the enemy under General Maison. The following is the Prussian account of this affair:

"The Prussian army, united with the corps of the Russian general, Barclay de Tolly, had their bivouac near Haynau, on the 25th of May. On the 26th, they marched in two columns towards Liegnitz. The first column was composed of the corps of Barclay de Tolly and D'York;

D'York; the second, of the corps of General Blucher. The rear-guard halted on the other side of Haynau, in order to oppose the enemy, who usually pushed on from eleven o'clock in the morning till night.

"As the enemy advanced, General Blucher ordered his column to retire through the plains of Haynau to Steudentz and Golsdorff, leaving twenty-one squadrons of cavalry, with twenty-two pieces of flying artillery, under the command of General Von Ziethen, in the enemy's rear. General Von Ziethen observed the strength of the enemy from the windmill of Baudinasdorff, which was ordered to be fired, as a signal for the Prussian cavalry to attack, and for the rear-guard to halt and oppose the enemy.

"At eleven o'clock, the enemy appeared from Haynau, and began a cannonade against the Prussian rear-guard under the command of Colonel Mulins, which took a position on the heights of Haynau. It was only a reconnaissance of Marshal Ney. About five o'clock in the evening, the enemy defiled from Haynau, and attacked our rear-guard, which retired, according to the preconcerted dispositions.

"General Von Ziethen, seeing a French division following our rear-guard, resolved to strike a great blow; and, trusting to the gallantry of the troops, gave orders to suffer the enemy to pass on, and to attack him in rear: but our cavalry had already quitted their ambuscade, and advanced against the right flank of the enemy; the windmill was fired; and the whole of the rear-guard made front against the French, who formed themselves in squares.

"Dispositions had been made for the horse-artillery to throw the enemy into disorder, at which time the cavalry were to have attacked them; but the impatience of the latter allowed no time for the artillery to produce the desired effect. After one discharge of cannon, the cavalry rushed in upon the enemy's squares, which were successively destroyed. His firing ceased; and a battery of twelve guns, with thirteen hundred prisoners, fell into our hands. When the dust which had concealed him cleared away, we saw the remainder of General Maison's division retreating on Haynau.

"The battle lasted only half an hour, and not a single man

man of our infantry was engaged, it having marched towards-Liegnitz.

“The brigade of General Von Ziethen alone remained on the heights behind Golsdorff.”

On the 28th, General Blucher's corps d'armée retired to Preschau on the Striegau river, while the main army took up its position near Schweidnitz. The armistice, which was now concluded, and subsequently prolonged until the 10th of August, gave a short respite to military operations.

The military preparations were not, however, impeded by the armistice. The Russian army was increased by large reinforcements; and an army of reserve and magazines were established on the western frontier of the empire. The King of Prussia was indefatigable in raising troops, and organizing his population. Troops, artillery, and stores, were sent from England to the Baltic; and the Crown Prince of Sweden strained every nerve to augment the patriotic legions forming under his standard.

At length the termination of the armistice approached, without the great object of it—a peace on equitable and just terms—being effected. And there appearing to be no prospect of Napoleon's acceding to the required terms, on the 10th of August it was declared to be at an end.

The allies were now considerably strengthened by the accession of the Emperor of Austria to their cause. His Imperial Majesty became sensible of the only policy he could pursue with the greatest chance of success, and convinced of the honourable principle that actuated the conduct of the allies, now declared war against Bonaparte, and entered into a treaty, defensive and offensive, with the Court of St. Petersburg, which was concluded at Toplitz, the 9th of September 1813.

At the recommencement of hostilities, the forces of the allies were thus disposed. Their grand army, consisting of the whole of the Austrian forces, and large Russian and Prussian detachments, had its position in Bohemia. This force, computed at 200,000 men, was under Prince Schwartzenberg. Another of the allied corps, the army of Silesia, under Field-Marshal Blucher, consisting of 100,000 men, was in Silesia. This army was composed of the remains of the Russian and Prussian regu-

To the army of Silesia, the Prussian general D'York, and the Russian generals Sachen and Langeron, were attached. A third corps, the army of the north of Germany, was under the Crown Prince of Sweden. This force was estimated at 120,000 men, and consisted of the whole Swedish army, large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, the Brandenburg militia, and the troops levied from the Hanse towns and other districts that had risen against the tyranny of Buonaparte.

Marshal BLUCHER's army occupied the centre position, and became the first object of Napoleon's attention. He flattered himself that he should be able to crush this army, and afterwards attack separately the armies of Prince Schwartzberg and the Prince Royal of Sweden.

The plan of the allies was to debouch from Bohemia by the several passes into Saxony, and to enter on immediate offensive operations in the flank and rear of the enemy, if he continued to maintain his forward positions in Lusatia, and remained on the right bank of the Elbe.

While the grand army was to act offensively from Bohemia, the ARMY OF SILESIA was to move on Lusatia, and threaten the enemy in front; but General Blucher was directed to avoid engaging in any general action, especially against superior numbers.

On the 20th of August, General Blucher advanced in three columns from Leignitz, Goldberg, and Jauer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg. General Sachen, commanding one column, moved to the right on Buntzlau; General D'York, with another column, moved on the centre; and General Langeron, with the third column, on the left. The enemy abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and General BLUCHER's force advanced to the Bober, where on the 21st it was attacked by the enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, who moved in great force on Buntzlau, Lowenberg, and Laun.

The allied troops, though opposed to numbers much superior to their own, contested the ground with great bravery; but, as General BLUCHER had received orders to avoid a general engagement, he withdrew in the best order to Raynau, Pilgramsdorf, Hersberg, and behind the Katzbach.

The loss on both sides in this affair was considerable: General BLUCHER's amounted to 2000 men; but he retired with his army completely unbroken.

Buonaparte, finding that he could come to no advantageous issue with the Silesian army, rapidly returned on the 23d to the Elbe, in order to the defence of Dresden.

On the 26th, General BLUCHER recommenced his offensive operations by an attack on the corps of Macdonald, Ney, Lauriston, and Sebastiani, at Jauer, and defeated them after the most desperate opposition. The enemy retreated in the greatest disorder.

A more particular account of the important movements of General BLUCHER will be found in the following interesting letter from an officer high on the staff of the army of Silesia.

“ Holstern, August 30.

“ Our victory has been far more complete than I imagined when I wrote to you last. The day after the battle, we found, in the steep and woody valleys of the rapid Niesse and Katzbach, the guns and tumbrils of the enemy.

“ We have taken more than 100 guns, and 300 ammunition-waggons and field-forges: 15,000 prisoners are already brought in; more arrive every hour. All the roads between the Katzbach and the Bober shew the effect of the panic that struck our enemies; dead bodies, overturned vehicles, villages in ashes, at every step. Macdonald's army is almost disbanded: their retreat having been cut off by the overflow of the rivers, the fugitives wander about in the woods and mountains, and commit excesses for want of food. I have had the alarm-bells rung, and sent the peasants out to kill or bring them in.

“ Yesterday, the division Pacthoud was annihilated in this neighbourhood. It was overtaken and forced into action, with its rear upon the Bober. After some cannonading, the attack with the bayonet began: one part was killed; the other thrown into the river, or taken—generals, officers, eagles, &c.

“ The weather is dreadful; it rains incessantly. During the battle, we had a hurricane blowing in our faces. The men pass the nights in the open fields, buried

buried in mud, most of them without shoes: they pursue the enemy through the overflown country, up to their necks in water, without being able to get any nourishment, as the deserted villages yield none, and carriages cannot bring it up.

“ The greater part of the landwehr have only linen pantaloons, and are without cloaks: our army having been augmented from 40,000 to 270,000, and the resources of the country before exhausted, there is no material nor money to get clothing. The soldier has not even spirits to revive him in these fatiguing marches, because it cannot be had in any quantity; and nevertheless he is content—suffers every possible hardship and privation with patience, and attacks the enemy with firmness and vigour. Our new-levied infantry equals the old levies; the landwehr emulates the regulars.

“ I myself have formed 69 battalions and 40 squadrons in Silesia: of these, 46 battalions and 28 squadrons are in the field; the rest in the fortresses. A battalion of the landwehr attacked the enemy formed in a square, and killed or dispersed him. Soon after, the same battalion was surrounded by the enemy’s cavalry, and called upon to surrender: the men attempted to fire; but, finding that their musquets did not go off on account of the rain (only one went off), they took to the bayonet, drove the cavalry back, and took two field-pieces.

“ No infantry in the world could do more; the swollen rivers delayed our pursuit, as the enemy had destroyed the bridges. Twenty thousand men of Macdonald’s army, which consisted of 80,000, may therefore have escaped for the present; but even these will be annihilated, if the orders that have been given can be executed.

“ There is a spirited action fighting just now near Buntzlau; they are contending for the possession of a bridge. The enemy has set fire to the village of Tiltendorf; and the Russian general, Horn, has given orders to make no prisoners, but drive them into the flames.

“ The division of Pacthoud was annihilated, as I mentioned above. Even at this moment, dead bodies are drawn out of the river—more than a thousand have been drowned. Near Goldsberg, another division of the

enemy's rear was overtaken, and immediately attacked: three battalions formed into a square; they were called upon to surrender, but determined to defend themselves to the last, they were cut down almost to a man by the cavalry.

"Prisoners are brought in from all sides; we have made more than 18,000 already, and taken 103 field-pieces, 250 powder waggons, and a number of other carriages. The discomfiture of the enemy has been decisive: we pursue him as fast as the dreadful roads and inundated country will let us. Within eight days (from the 19th to the 26th of August), our army fought eight severe actions (I do not include trifling ones), in several of which we lost from 4 to 5000 killed and wounded; and we have fought one great battle and three actions since. No army ever made so active a campaign; at least, I do not recollect to have met with one in the history of wars. The great merit of this army, and its exertion in the good cause, are undeniable.

"We have now ascertained, that on the 21st, near Lowenberg, we had Napoleon's main force and himself against us. We manœuvred against 140,000 men: we fought against him during the whole day, keeping the greatest part of our troops out of action, and retreating slow for about five miles, when we formed again and halted; but Buonaparte, finding that he could not induce us to engage in a disadvantageous battle, returned, on the 23d, towards the Elbe."

General BUCHER now issued the annexed animating general orders:—

"Bivouac, between Naumburg and Goerlitz, near the Village of Kielingswalde, Sept. 2, 1813.

"Silesia is delivered from the enemy. It is to your valour, brave soldiers of the Russian and Prussian army under my command—to your efforts and patience in bearing fatigues and wants—that I owe the good fortune of having wrested a beautiful province from the hands of a rapacious enemy.

"In the battle of Katzbach, the enemy advanced presumptuously upon you. Courageously, and with the rapidity of lightning, you burst forth from behind your heights: you disdained firing at them; you advanced against them with the bayonet, and thrust them down
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the steep banks of the rapid Niesse and the Katzbach.

“ Since, you have waded through rivers and swollen torrents; you have spent whole nights in the mire; several of you were even without provisions, as the badness of the roads, and the want of conveyance, prevented the supplies from coming up; you had to struggle with cold, damp, privations of all sorts, and even clothes—yet you diligently pursued the beaten enemy. Thanks to you, for such praiseworthy conduct. He only is a true soldier, who unites these qualities in himself.

“ You have in your hands 103 cannons, 250 tumbrils, the camp-hospitals, the enemy’s forges, his flour-waggons, one general of division, two brigadier-generals, a great number of colonels, officers of the staff, and others, 18,000 prisoners, two eagles, with other trophies.

“ The rest of those who were opposed to you in the battle of the Katzbach, were so much panic-struck, as to be unable to bear the sight of your bayonets. You have seen the plains between the Katzbach and the Bober; they bear testimony to the terror and consternation of your enemies.

“ Let us send up our thanks to the LORD OF HOSTS, by whose aid you have defeated the enemy; and, assembled in divine service, prostrate ourselves before him for the glorious victory he has granted us. Let your devotions close with three hurrahs; and then, once more against the enemy.

“ BLUCHER.”

On the 1st of September, the advanced guard of the Silesian army passed the Queis; on the 2d, the Neisse. The army followed. On the 3d, the enemy was on the stream of the Lobau; and retreated, on the 4th, towards Bautzen. Hochkirch was already evacuated by him, when his columns halted, and attacked in their turn the advanced guard. Troops were on their march through Bautzen; and the prisoners said, that Napoleon was come up with great reinforcements. Much cavalry made their appearance; and, in the afternoon of the 4th, it was confirmed that the Emperor had arrived with his guards about mid-day. The general-in-chief withdrew the advanced guard, under General Wasilsikoff, behind the water of Lobau; concentrated the army in a retrograde direction,

direction, in the Landskron (a lofty mountain ridge), waiting to see whether the enemy would hold back his beaten army, or offer battle.

On the 5th, the enemy deployed a considerable force in advance of Reichenbach, which commenced a brisk attack on a corps of the army. The general-in-chief found it not expedient here to join battle with the enemy; he therefore withdrew the army over the Neisse and Queis, leaving a corps on the right bank of the Neisse to watch the enemy, should he be inclined to advance farther into Silesia. The farther he should remove from Dresden, the more effective would be the operations of the grand Bohemian army.

In vain did the Silesian army expect, on the 6th and 7th of September, that the enemy would cross the Neisse: he was aware of his dangerous situation; and the Emperor Napoleon, on the 7th, returned to Dresden with his reinforcements, which he had advanced towards the Neisse.

The Russian partizan Prince Madeloff, Colonels Rachumoff and Figuer, the Prussian Majors Flackenhause and Boltenstern, operated in the rear of the enemy, and did him incredible mischief. On the 2d of September, the former took, in Wurschen, an enemy's battalion, consisting of a colonel, 5 captains, 18 lieutenants, 2 adjutants, and 667 men. On the 4th, he also took, at Bischoffswerda, a detachment of 500 men, guarding a large convoy of ammunition; and blew up 100 ammunition-waggons.

On the 8th, the Silesian army put itself in motion. General Count St. Priest crossed the Neisse at Ostritz: the corps of Count Langeron followed on the 9th. According to the dispositions made, Lieutenant-General St. Priest was vigorously to attack Korbau, and to be supported by Count Langeron, while the corps of D'York was to take the enemy's corps at Goerlitz in flank and rear by Landskron, and to cut it off by Reichenbach.

General St. Priest fell upon the Polish corps d'armée which was concentrated at Lobau; but the attack of the corps at Goerlitz could not be carried into effect, as the enemy, aware of his danger, retreated so rapidly, that the Cossacks of General Sacken could scarcely come up with him.

An adjutant of Prince Poniatowski was taken prisoner, with a report in his possession of the affair at Lobau, addressed to the Prince of Neufchatel. It appeared from it, that the enemy on that occasion lost 23 officers and 500 men.

On the 10th of September, the enemy retreated to Bautzen; and the advanced guard of the Silesian army entered Hochkirch.

On the 16th of September, Buonaparte advanced at the head of his guards, and the remains of the armies which had been opposed to General BLUCHER and the Prince Royal of Sweden, united to the 1st, 2d, and 4th corps d'armée, towards Nollendorf, intending to make a serious operation against Bohemia.

The commander-in-chief of the allies, Prince Schwartzberg, had given orders that all the advanced posts should fall back into position at Kulin, and there await the enemy. His attack, however, was every where repulsed, and the enemy driven back in the greatest disorder into the heights of Nollendorf. Seven pieces of cannon, and more than 2000 prisoners, were taken.

It was now determined by the allies to pursue a more vigorous and decisive line of action; and, for this purpose, to cross the Elbe with their main armies. General Benningsen, with a Russian reinforcement of 40,000 men, was now moving into Bohemia, and rapidly advancing to Toplitz; Marshal BLUCHER was to cross the Elbe above Dresden, in conjunction with the Prince Royal of Sweden; whilst Prince Schwartzberg, who was at Toplitz, on being relieved by the reinforcement under General Benningsen, was to advance through Saxony, in the direction of Leipzig, and form a junction with the Prince Royal of Sweden and Marshal BLUCHER, who were moving on the opposite side.

General BLUCHER accordingly advanced with the greater part of his army from the environs of Bautzen to Elster; and though he had to carry with him pontoons, he marched with such rapidity as to reach in three days the latter place. After passing the Elbe, he attacked the fourth corps of the enemy's army, commanded by General Bertrand, on the 3d of October, near Wirtemberg; routed, and drove it from all its intrenchments; and took six guns, 70 harnessed caissons, and 1000 prisoners.

Buonaparte

Buonaparte had manœuvred from Dresden with a large corps of cavalry on the right, and all his infantry on the left bank of the Elbe, as far down as Archlau: a strong demonstration of 20, or 30,000 men was made from Torgau towards the point of Elster, where General BLUCHER passed, probably with a design of menacing him, and compelling him to repass the river. The bold determination of the allies was not, however, to be arrested by demonstration; and the whole army of General BLUCHER, being now close in communication with the Prince Royal of Sweden, marched from Douba to Jesnitz, on the 9th of October, and passed the Mulda. The Prince Royal concentrated his forces between Zorbig, Radegast, and Bitterfeld. On the 10th, General BLUCHER moved from Jesnitz to Zorbig; and the armies of Silesia and the north of Germany were here united.

It being determined to pass the Saale, orders were issued in the night, and General BLUCHER moved with the Silesian army, to pass the river at Wettin; bridges having been constructed for that purpose. The residue of the allied force, under the Prince Royal, Generals Bulow and Winzingerode, were also to cross the river at different points; and the whole to place itself in order of battle, with its left on the Saale.

Information now arrived at the Prince Royal's headquarters, that the grand allied army of Bohemia was approaching Altenberg, and the communications seemed about to be established in the rear of the French army; and the Mulda, Elster, and Saale rivers being now passed, the allies interposed their main strength between Buonaparte and the French dominions.

These grand and decisive steps compelled the French Emperor to quit Dresden, which he did on the 7th of October, preceded by the greater part of his army, adopting the plan of crossing the Elbe and extending his forces along the opposite bank from Dresden to Magdeburg, with a view to push a detached corps into the centre of Prussia, and even upon Berlin. The Prince Royal and Marshal BLUCHER made some change in their plan of operations; and on the 13th the army of the Prince recrossed the Saale. On the 14th, Marshal BLUCHER moved his head-quarters to Gros Kugal, pushing his advance on the great road to Leipzig, and occupying

pying the villages on each side of it. The enemy was in force in this front, still holding Deblitsch and Bitterfeld, with some troops along the Mulda.

Marshal BLUCHER found the enemy's forces, consisting of the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps of the French army, and great part of the guards, under Marshals Marmont and Ney, and General Bertrand, occupying a line with their right at Freyroda, and their left at Lindenthal. The country is open and very favourable for cavalry around these latter villages: but the enemy was posted strong in front of a wood of some extent, near Radefeld, and behind it the ground is more intersected; generally speaking, however, it is open, and "adapted to all arms."

The disposition of attack of the Silesian army was as follows:—The corps of General Langeron was to attack and carry Freyroda, and then Radefeld, having the corps of General Sachon in reserve. The corps d'armée of General D'York was directed to move on the great *chaussée* leading to Leipzig, until it reached the village of Sitzchera, when, turning to its left, it was to force the enemy at Lindenthal. The Russian guards and advanced guard were to press on the main road to Leipzig. The corps of General St. Priest, arriving from Merseberg, was to follow the corps of General Langeron. The formation of the cavalry and the different reserves was made on the open ground between the villages. It was nearly mid-day before the troops were at their stations.

The enemy, soon after the first onset, gave up the advanced villages, and retired some distance; but tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and the villages of Gros and Klein Wetteritz, as also the villages of Mockern and Mokau, on their left. At Mockern, a most bloody contest ensued; it was taken and retaken, by the corps of General D'York, five times: the musquetry fire was most galling, and this was the hottest part of the field; many of the superior officers were either killed or wounded: at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the enemy beyond the Partha. In the plain there were many brilliant charges of cavalry: the Brandenburg regiment of hussars distinguished itself in a particular manner, and, supported

by infantry, charged a battery of eight pieces, which they carried.

The enemy made an obstinate resistance also on their right, in the villages of Great and Little Wetteritz and Ilchhausen, and in the woody ground around them; and when they found, the allies had forced their left, they brought an additional number of troops on Count Langeron, who was chiefly engaged with Marshal Ney's corps, which arrived from the neighbourhood of Duben. The Russians made the most gallant efforts, and success attended their arms.

The enemy lost, in this battle, 40 pieces of cannon, with 12,000 wounded and prisoners; while the Silesian army sustained a loss of from 6 to 7000 killed and wounded.

This was the commencement of the sanguinary and decisive battle of Leipzig, of which we have already given an ample account in the preceding pages of these Memoirs.

The allied forces succeeding at all points carried every thing before them; and a junction with the Prince Royal of Sweden's army having been formed towards the evening, the united forces established themselves almost beneath the walls of Leipzig. About the close of the day, it being understood that the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumberg, General BLUCHER was directed by the King of Prussia to detach in that direction.

On the 19th, the allies entered Leipzig; and, for his eminent services, the King of Prussia now conferred the rank of FIELD-MARSHAL on General BLUCHER.

The allies having determined to give the retreating enemy no respite, the following disposition of their force was made on the 20th October. The grand army, under Prince Schwartzemberg, was to march on the enemy's right, in the direction of Frankfort on the Maine, taking the route of Pegau, Zeist, and Ersenberg: the army of General Benningsen, united to the army of the North, and under the orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, was to follow the enemy's centre, in the direction of Lutzen and Mersberg: whilst the army of Silesia, under Field-Marshal BLUCHER, pursued the enemy in the direction of Mersberg.

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The following reports of the progress of the Silesian army in the pursuit of the vanquished enemy are too interesting to be omitted:—

Eisenach, October 27th.

As early as the 19th of October, after the storming of Leipzig, the corps of Count Von Langeron and Von Sachen proceeded to Skeuditz. The cavalry of Sachen's corps, under General Vasilshikoff, crossed the Elster. The main body of the French army, with the Emperor Napoleon, bivouacuated at Mark-Rannstadt. On the 20th of October, General Vasilshikoff advanced from Lutzen, taking from the enemy 2100 prisoners. The corps of Langeron and Sachen moved towards Lutzen. General Von D'York, proceeding from Halle, by the field of battle of Rossbach (in the seven years war), met the enemy on their march from Weissenfels to Freiburg, and cannonaded their columns. The main body of the French army had not ventured to march upon Kosen, but had crossed the Saale near Weissenfels, and were pursuing the route of Freiburg. The Emperor Napoleon bivouacuated near Weissenfels, upon the left bank of the Saale. On the 21st of October, the corps of Langeron and Sachen, set out for Weissenfels. The enemy burnt down the bridges. Field Marshal Von Blucher, by means of his artillery, caused the enemy to be driven from the left bank of the Saale, and ordered immediately a bridge to be thrown over that river. This was effected upon the same spot where his Majesty King Frederick, previous to the battle of Rossbach, had ordered to be constructed a bridge of rafts; and it is worthy of remark, that the same carpenter who was employed on the present occasion, had, at that time, when a youth, been one of the workmen. General Von D'York advanced upon Querfurth, in order to prevent the enemy from passing the river Unstrut, in many columns. Part of the cavalry of reserve, under Colonel Count Von Henkel, fell in with a column of the enemy that was escorting some prisoners, and liberated 4000 of them, together with 100 officers of the several allied powers, who had been taken on the 26th of August, and 16th of October. When it appeared that this was the hindmost column of the enemy, General Von D'York turned quickly off to the left towards Freiburg, made an impetuous attack upon the enemy's

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columns on their march, overthrew them after a brisk engagement of infantry, and drove them into the valleys adjoining the river Unstrut. The enemy's waggon train had not yet reached that river; but they blew up a number of powder-waggons, and left behind a large number of cannon, tumbrils, and generals' equipages. One general, two colonels, upwards of 1000 men, 18 field-pieces, and a number of ammunition-waggons, were in the evening in the hands of General Von D'York. The number of guns and waggons that were found on the ensuing day cannot be correctly stated. On the 22d of October, the bridges across the Unstrut were restored, and the army passed over in three columns, without, however, being able to come up with the enemy. On the 23d, the army proceeded as far as Somerda. The enemy concentrated themselves near Erfurth, and seemed willing to take up a position there, with intent to afford some rest to their jaded horses. The Field-Marshal, apprised of this circumstance, ordered the army to make a rapid movement, with a view of turning the left wing of the enemy. The army on the 24th were at Tennstadt, and on the 25th beyond Langensalza.

"On the 26th they marched, in three columns, upon Gotha and the Horselberg, in the direction of Eisenach. The enemy were already in full retreat. The van-guard, under General Ruczeiwich, made about 2000 prisoners in the neighbourhood of Gotha. General Von D'York encountered the enemy marching through the valley of Horsel, in the vicinity of Eisenach, attacked them, and, after an engagement of infantry, took the village of Elkrodt, thereby cutting off the fourth army corps of the enemy from Eisenach. The latter, therefore, threw themselves into the forest of Thuringia, and were compelled to endeavour to reach, by circuitous routes, the town of Vach. On the 27th of October, the army passed through the defile of Eisenach, pursuing the enemy in all directions. Every hour fresh convoys of prisoners were bringing in."

" Fulda, October 31st, 1813.

" Before day light, on the morning of the 27th of October, the enemy had quitted the town of Eisenach, which was immediately after entered by Marshal BLUCHER's army, an advanced corps of which had been sent directly

directly in pursuit, and came up with the rear of the enemy at the entrance of the defiles, in the mountains, within about a German mile from the town. The blowing up of several ammunition-waggons, the destruction or abandonment of baggages, and the capture of several stragglers, was the immediate consequence; but the enemy had penetrated far into the defiles, where the ground was not favourable for the advance of cavalry; and it was only by following his march for the three subsequent days, that the precipitancy and disasters of his flight became obvious. For an extent of nearly 50 English miles, from Eisenach to Fulda, carcasses of dead and dying horses, without number—dead bodies of men, who had been either killed, or perished through hunger, sickness, or fatigue, lying on the roads or in the ditches—parties of stragglers brought in by the Cossacks—blown up or destroyed ammunition and baggage waggons, in such numbers as absolutely to obstruct the road—sufficiently attested the sufferings of the enemy; whilst pillaged and burning towns and villages marked, at the same time, the ferocity with which he had conducted himself. The number of dead bodies on the road had been considerably augmented, from a resolution that had been taken to carry off all the sick and wounded, not resulting surely from any principle of humanity, but probably as matter of boast, in the relations that might be given to the world of the event, as several of these men were found abandoned on the road, in the last gasp of hunger and disease; the dead and the dying frequently mixed together, lying in groups of six or eight, by half-extinguished fires by the-road side. Several of these men must have been compelled to move on foot, as their bodies were found on the road, with the sticks with which they had endeavoured to support their march lying by their sides. The number of dead bodies might have been counted by hundreds; and, in the space from Eisenach to Fulda, could certainly not have amounted to much less than 1000. The enemy continued to be closely pursued during the three days' march from Eisenach to Vach, Hunefeld, and Fulda, and frequent cannonading ensued at the head of the advanced guard; but the nature of the country not permitting the cavalry to act, the enemy escaped with only such losses as have been enumerated.

“ On arrival at Fulda, it was ascertained that Buonaparte had fled in the direction of Frankfort; but a subsequent relation assures us, that General Count Wrede has taken Hanau, with his Bavarian troops, by assault on the 28th; Napoleon would therefore be compelled to turn towards Coblenz, and Marshal Blucher has made his dispositions for following him in that direction. General Count St. Priest, of General Baron Sacken's division, has, in the mean time, entered Cassel. General Baron Sacken, who had not found it necessary to pursue in that direction, halts this day at Lautubach, General Count Langeron at Luder, and General D'York at Neuchoff. The whole will move forward immediately on the Lahn.”

“ Ulrickstein, November 2d, 1813.

“ It had been the original intention of Field-Marshal BLUCHER, to keep the high road to Frankfort, on which he was already the foremost in advance, but the columns of the grand combined army following close on the same route, the solicitations of the Prince Marshal commanding it, who represented the difficulties of subsistence and the advance of General Wrede on Hanau, induced him to turn off to the right, so as effectually to provide against the enemy's effecting his retreat by the way of Coblenz. The first day's march was to Ulrickstein, an old town with a castle, on the highest pinnacle of the Vorelberg mountains. The roads to it were full of every obstacle that hills, woods, ravines, morasses, and roads that had never been destined for wheel conveyances, could present, and were in fact such as, according to any usual military calculation, would have been considered as impracticable for the movements of a large army; infantry, cavalry, artillery and baggage, every thing however, were pushed over them. The Russian twelve-pounders frequently stuck in the road; but where six horses were not sufficient, twelve were tackled; and, finally, every thing was made to yield to the perseverance and determined resolution which has distinguished all the operations of this army. The troops, after their long march, were cantoned in several of the small mountain villages; and corps of three thousand men were allotted to some, whose usual population would not amount to as many hundreds. The inhabitants supplied their wants with cheerfulness in every

every thing. The soldiers were delighted, and they had equal reason to be pleased with each other. The soldiers from Caucasus and the Volga forgot all the fatigues of their long marches, in the hospitable reception these peasants had afforded them. On arrival at Ulrickstem, accounts were received by Field Marshal BLUCHER, that General Wrede had fallen in with the enemy, during their retreat on the 29th, and took 4000 prisoners, many of them of the guards. On the 30th, he was himself attacked by Napoleon, but enabled to maintain his position. On the 31st, another affair is reported to have taken place, but the result is not known. At or near Gelnhausen, General Platoff fell in with the enemy, and, as reported to the Field-Marshal, has taken 3000 prisoners. The Field-Marshal marches this day to Giessen.

“ P.S. *Giessen, November 2d, 1813, 4 P.M.*—It is here reported, that Napoleon is still in Frankfort, and has concentrated his army between and around Hanau, Frankfort, and the Rhine; that General Wrede, who had possessed himself of both Hanau and Frankfort, found it necessary to draw in his forces to resist the attacks of Napoleon, who, after his first affairs, returned from the Frankfort road to attack the General; and that he is now in position about these towns, both of which he occupies. There are further reports of another battle, in which General Wrede has been successful: but no accounts to be relied on have been, as yet, received.”

On the 2d of January 1814, Field-Marshal BLUCHER passed the Rhine with the Silesian army. The right wing, under General Sacken, crossed near Mannheim, and secured Frankenthal and Worms: the centre, consisting of Generals Von D'York and Langeron's corps, crossed at and about Caub, took Bingen, blockaded Mentz, and on the 4th entered Kreutznach: the left wing, under General St. Priest, crossed close to Coblenz, and took that city after a slight resistance.

The following addresses were now issued by the Field-Marshal to his army, and to the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine:—

“ *To the Army of Silesia.*

“ When you advanced from the Oder towards the Rhine, it was necessary to take from the enemy the provinces which he had previously occupied. Now you are going

going to pass the Rhine, to force peace from the enemy, who cannot console himself for having lost, in two campaigns, the conquests which he had made during nineteen years. Soldiers! I have only to point out the road to glory, to the conquerors of the Katzbach, of Wastinburg, of Mockern, and of Leipzig, and I am certain of success. But I have new duties to prescribe to you. The inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine are not our enemies. I have promised them protection for their property; I have done so in your name: it belongs to you to perform what I have promised. Bravery does honour to the soldier, but subordination and an exact discipline are his highest titles to glory.

“ BUCHER.”

“ *To the Inhabitants of the Left Bank of the Rhine.*

“ I have conducted the army of Silesia beyond the Rhine, to establish the liberty and independence of nations, and to conquer peace.

“ The Emperor Napoleon incorporated with the French empire, Holland, a part of Germany and of Italy; he has declared that he would not give up a single village of his conquests, not even if the enemy was upon the heights of Paris.

“ The armies of all the European powers are acting against this declaration and these principles! Will you defend these principles? If so, range yourselves in the battalions of the Emperor Napoleon, and endeavour to fight against the most just of causes, which Providence so visibly protects. Do not partake in this opinion; you will find protection on our part.

“ I will protect your property. Let every citizen, let every landholder, peaceably remain at his home, and every magistrate at his post, to continue his functions without interruption; however, all connexion with the French empire must cease from the moment of the entrance of the allied troops.

“ Whoever infringes this order, will render himself guilty of treason against the allied powers: he will be carried before a military council, and condemned to death.

“ Given upon the left bank of the Rhine, January 1st, 1814.

“ BUCHER.”

“ Head-

“ Head-Quarters, Montbelliard, January 8th, 1814.

“ At this moment, when the army is advancing upon the French territory, I think it my duty to remind the commanders of corps of the orders which preceded that movement, and to enjoin them to redouble their zeal for the maintenance of order and discipline. They will exact the same attention, under a responsibility the most extensive, from all commanders of regiments, battalions, &c. The troops will make the scourge of war bear as lightly as possible on the inhabitants; and on no account must they exact more than the fixed marching allowance. The conduct and exact discipline of the soldier must fulfil the solemn engagement entered into by the allied monarchs in their declaration to the French people; must convince them that we do not make war upon them, and that we are now in the midst of them only to conquer peace, and to enable them to participate its blessings. The army, in uniting to its well-proved valour the most severe discipline, will fix the admiration of its own age, and of generations to come.

“ The commandants of corps will repeat to their corps the order, that the most severe punishment will be inflicted on every offender, as due to the honour of the army which is entrusted to my command. They will also announce that every inhabitant out of uniform, taken with arms in his hands, being only to be considered in such case as a malefactor or assassin, shall be judicially condemned as such, and punished with death.

“ The town, city, or village, the inhabitants of which shall oppose any resistance, and commit any acts of hostility, shall be razed and reduced to ashes.”

Proclamation.

“ Frenchmen! Suffer not yourselves to be deceived by calumnious reports disseminated by malevolence. Behold, in the armies of the allied sovereigns, only the armies of humanity, who have no other enemies but the enemies of peace. Your relatives, your friends, your brothers, your children, prisoners in a foreign land, unite their wishes with our's for peace; the first benefit of which, to them, will be their speedy return to the bosom of their families.”

The Marshal continued his victorious march, and entered the strong position of Keyser-Slautern which

Marshal Marmont had abandoned; and, on the 6th of January, Treves with a garrison of 1000 men was taken by a detachment of the Silesian army.

To secure their retreat, the French destroyed all the bridges; which the Field-Marshal having repaired, he left detachments to blockade Saar-Louis, Thionville, and Luxembourg, and marched towards the Moselle.

On the 14th Nancy was taken possession of by General Sachen; and on the 15th the Silesian army effected a junction with the grand army under Prince Schwartzenberg.

On the 26th of January, Marshal BLUCHER, having passed the Marne, and being on his march to Troyes, on the following day entered Brienne; and, preparing to pass the Aube, was suddenly attacked in his rear, at St. Dizier, by Buonaparte.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th, the French attacked Brienne with great fury: they were as vigorously opposed. Night put an end to the contest; and the Field-Marshal, finding he could not maintain his position against the very superior force of the enemy, prepared to retire.

On the 31st of January, the corps of Marshal BLUCHER, consisting of General Sachen, and part of General Langeron's divisions, took up a position near Trames. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg was in position at Maison, in communication with the Field-Marshal's right. General Giulay's corps was formed on the great road between Trames and Dienville; and General Wrede and his corps marched upon Donlevant, from whence he was directed to advance to Chamneuil, upon the road by Tremilly. General Barclay de Tolly commanded the reserve, consisting of two divisions of Russian grenadiers and a division of cuirassiers, about 6000 men.

The enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, occupied two lines extending across the plain, from the front of Dienville on the right, by the village of La Rothiere, towards Tremilly on the left. General Marmont was placed at the village of Morvilliers in reserve. The French likewise occupied the heights about the town of Brienne.

Marshal BLUCHER commenced the attack about twelve o'clock, by advancing the corps of General Giulay towards

wards Dienville, and by forming in the front of La Rothiere the divisions of his own corps.

The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg also advanced to attack the French in the village of La Gibrie, which they occupied, with the surrounding woods, in considerable force; and, after a severe contest, finally succeeded in carrying it: and General Wrede, about the same time, advanced upon Tremilly, which he got possession of without much difficulty.

This success having secured General Sachen's right, that officer determined to attack the centre of the French position at La Rothiere. While his infantry were engaged in the attack of the village, Marshal BLUCHER directed a charge of cavalry upon the right of it, which completely succeeded. The enemy were driven from La Rothiere; and, late in the evening, General Giulay advanced upon Dienville, and succeeded in taking that part of the village situated on the right of the Aube.

Buonaparte, at the head of the young guards, repeatedly attacked the allies in the village of La Rothiere, but was unable to regain possession of this important post; and, baffled at all points, was finally compelled to retreat upon Vitry, Troyes, and Arcis.

In this battle, the loss of the French was very considerable in killed and wounded. That of the allies was also very great: they took 73 pieces of cannon, and about 4000 prisoners.

On the 6th of February, Marshal BLUCHER's headquarters were at Landron: on the 8th, they were removed from Vertus to Etoges; General Sachen being then at Montmirail, General D'York at Chateau Thierry, and General Kleist at Chalons; the whole advancing upon the French army under the command of Macdonald, who was retiring with 100 pieces of artillery. On the evening of the 8th, Marshal BLUCHER again moved his head-quarters to Vertus, on the report of a Russian regiment having been attacked at Baye. General D'York's advanced posts from Darment, and General Sachen's from Montmirail, now reached as far as Chateau Thierry and La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

The Russian corps of Alsuffieff, being at Champaubert, was attacked in the afternoon of the 10th, by a very superior force from Sezanne; and, after an obstinate re-

sistance, compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the following day the head-quarters of Marshal BLUCHER were at Bergeres, and the corps of General Sachen and D'York marched upon Montmirail against the enemy. A severe engagement ensued, during which the village of Marchais was taken and retaken three times. Both armies maintained their positions; but, two days afterwards, the Field-Marshal thought it advisable to retire behind the Marne.

On the 12th, Marshal BLUCHER, with the corps-under Generals Kleist and Kassieltvitz, being in position at Bergeres, advanced to attack Marshal Marmont, who was at Etoges with 10,000 men. The enemy fell back, closely pursued by the allies, to Janvillieres, where he was joined by the French Emperor, on the 14th, with the whole of his guards, and a large body of cavalry.

The Field-Marshal was now attacked with great impetuosity by the French, whose great superiority of numbers determined him to retreat: he therefore formed his infantry into squares. All attempts of the French cavalry to break these squares were ineffectual; and they finally forced their way through a French corps which attempted to intercept them, and towards night reached Etoges in safety.

The loss of the allies, on this occasion, was not less than 3500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the enemy considerably greater, in consequence of their being exposed to a tremendous fire of artillery, in which the Field-Marshal was superior.

Marshal BLUCHER now retired to Chalons, where he was joined, on the 16th, by Generals Sachen and D'York. On the 21st, the Field-Marshal effected his march upon Mery, which town was already occupied by General Count Witgenstein.

On the arrival of Marshal BLUCHER, the Count withdrew his corps, and, early on the morning of the 22d, took the direction of Chevrigny. Scarcely had the posts he left in front of the town been relieved by the army of the Field-Marshal, when Marshal Oudinot, with two corps, commenced, at eight o'clock in the morning, an attack from the opposite side of the river.

It not being, however, the immediate intention of the allies to carry on any operation on the left bank of the river,

river, arrangements were made for burning the bridge over the Seine, that divides the town into two parts, and for defending that on the other side of the river. Whilst Field-Marshal BLUCHER was himself superintending this operation, the town itself took fire in three places, and the wind being very high it became impossible to subdue the flames; the defence of the town, therefore, became impracticable.

During the action, the Field-Marshal, whilst reconnoitring the enemy's position in the town, was struck by a musquet-ball on the leg, which passed through his boot without doing any material injury.

The Field-Marshal now drew up his army in two lines, in a vast plain outside of the town, having his cavalry in reserve, prepared to attack the enemy if he had ventured across the river. Marshal Oudinot, however, contented himself with pushing over three battalions, and extending them along the left bank of the river, and by a very sharp fire designed to cover the further advance of troops from the river. He was, however, now attacked by the allied troops, driven back into the town, and compelled to recross the broken bridge, leaving many prisoners and wounded behind him; and at sun-set each army remained on their respective sides of the town.

On the morning of the 24th, the Field-Marshal threw three pontoon-bridges across the Aube, near Baudemont, and crossed the whole of his army, having marched it during the night, without being perceived by the enemy, from opposite Mery. It bivouacked, on the night of the 24th, at and in the vicinity of Auglure.

Advices had been received by the Field-Marshal, of the approach of the different corps by which he expected to be joined; and also, that Marmont, encouraged by his absence, had advanced to Sezanne. These accounts determined the veteran chief to break up from Mery, and to march against Marshal Marmont, whose great object seemed to be to get into the rear of the allies.

The enemy retired on the approach of the Field-Marshal, for the purpose of effecting a junction, as it afterwards appeared, with Marshal Mortier, who had marched from Chateau Thierry for that purpose: the united force amounted to somewhat between 16 and 20,000 men.

The

The FIELD-MARSHAL did not think it prudent to pass the Marne in the presence of such a force, with the probability that Buonaparte, hearing of the march of the Silesian army in this direction, might detach a force to the rear of it: he therefore made the following skilful dispositions, by which he menaced the communications of the enemy with Paris, and compelled him to evacuate La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

The corps of General Baron Sacken and General Count Langeron were directed to march on Coalomiers and Chailly, and to pursue their route on the morning of the 27th towards Meaux. The corps of General D'York and General Kleist, after halting for the night at and in the vicinity of Rebais, were to march at the same time to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. General Korf, with a reserve of 3000 cavalry, formed the rear guard, at La Ferté Gauchep.

The demonstration towards Meaux was attended with complete success. Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who had united their force at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, precipitately abandoned the town, leaving the river in the front of it open to the establishment of pontoon bridges in every direction. Some yagers got over in a small boat, and took possession of the town.

These able and successful movements of Field-Marshal BLUCHER determined Buonaparte to march against him. The French Emperor, therefore, quitted Troyes on the 27th of February; upon which place Prince Schwartzenberg again advanced. Buonaparte took with him the flower of his troops, consisting of the whole of his guards, the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and a considerable body of cavalry. He arrived at Aisne on the 4th of March, and determined on the following day to attempt retaking Soissons.

On the evening of the 3d of March, Field-Marshal BLUCHER, with the army of Silesia, had effected a junction with the corps of General Winzingerode and Bulow at Soissons; and on the following day the FIELD-MARSHAL, who was entrusted with the command of the whole allied force, took up a position on an extensive plateau to the left, and in the rear of Soissons, with his right close to the village of Laffaux, and his left near Craone.

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The town of Soissons was occupied by 10,000 Russian infantry, of the corps of General Count Langeron, under the orders of General Rudgewick. On the 5th, soon after day-light, the attack was commenced by the French: they succeeded in obtaining possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and twice attacked the town itself on opposite sides with heavy columns, but were both times repulsed with great slaughter. The enemy still retained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, unroofed the houses, and kept up a constant fire from them upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put an end to the contest.

These operations were entrusted by Buonaparte to Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who, on the morning of the 6th, gave up the contest, and retired. In the afternoon of that day, the enemy effected the passage of the Aisne at Bery-le-Bac; and, at about two o'clock, commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by the Field-Marshal's army near Craone. At the same time strong columns of the enemy were observed to be marching towards Laon by way of Corbeny.

The FIELD-MARSHAL now directed General Winzingerode, with a corps of 10,000 cavalry, to march by the way of Chevrigny and Presle, and throw itself in the line of the enemy's communications, across the road from Corbeny to Laon. General Bulow, with 20,000 men, was directed to march and occupy Laon. The corps of Generals D'York, Kleist, and Sacken, were ordered to incline towards the infantry of General Winzingerode, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martin and Craone.

The enemy approached under cover of the wood of Corbeny, and sent forth large bodies of skirmishers, supported by artillery, but was repulsed; and the firing ceased with the night.

On the morning of the 7th, it was ascertained, that the enemy had desisted from his march upon Laon: in other respects, his position was not clearly ascertained. To be prepared for whatever might occur, Field-Marshal Blucher directed the corps of General D'York and Kleist to move across the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Lenilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under General Winzingerode; and, together, with the corps

corps of General Bulow, to make an attack on the enemy's right, should he push forward against the points occupied by the infantry of General Winzingerode near Craone. General Baron Sacken was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn the enemy's left, should he make his attack on the other side: if pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road towards Laon, and draw in the garrison of Soissons.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy began the attack with his whole force, amounting to not less than 60,000 men, against the point where General Winzingerode's infantry was posted. Field-Marshal BLUCHER immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but unexpected difficulties had occurred so as to prevent the march of the cavalry during the night, and it was found to have advanced no further than Presle.

The infantry of General Kleist, which had marched in the morning, reached Feticia; but the advanced guard of the cavalry alone had come up, and it became impossible to undertake, with effect, the movement which the Field-Marshal had projected against the enemy's right. In the mean time, the corps posted near Craon was exposed to a most severe and powerful attack. General Count Strogonoff commanded, in General Winzingerode's absence: General Count Woronzoff had the infantry. The cannonading was tremendous; but the enemy was resisted in every point, with extraordinary spirit and resolution. The pressure, however, was so great, that General Baron Sacken, to whom the support and direction of the whole had been entrusted, finally found it necessary to execute that part of the disposition which had provided for the retreat of the troops engaged towards Laon. It was executed in admirable order. Though fourteen pieces of cannon had been dismounted by the enemy's fire, not a single gun or carriage was left behind. The prisoners taken were not more than 50 or 60: the killed and wounded were stated to be about 2000. General Count Strogonoff had his son (a lieutenant-general) killed early in the action. Three other Russian generals were wounded. The enemy had four generals wounded. His loss from the fire of the artillery of the allies, which
was

was most admirably served, was very great. The allied troops effected their junction, during the night and on the following morning, with the rest of the army.

On the 9th, Buonaparte, with his whole force, attacked the FIELD-MARSHAL, in his position at Laon, before day-light in the morning. The city of Laon is situated on an elevated *plateau*, with deep shelving banks, which command an extensive plain around: the town covers the greater part of the *plateau*; the remainder is crowned by an old castle, and by several windmills built on high terrace walls. General Bulow occupied this position; and the remainder of the Field-Marshal's army was posted on the plain below, to the right and left of the town, forming towards Soissons; and the cavalry was in the rear.

The attack of the enemy being made under the cover of a thick fog, which concealed all his movements, he obtained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, so close under the town as to be regarded as its suburbs, and the fire of his musquetry reached the walls of the town.

The fog began to disperse about eleven o'clock, when the enemy was observed in force behind the villages of Semilly and Lenilly, with columns of infantry and cavalry in the *chaussée* towards Soissons. He occupied at the same time, in force, the village of Ardon. The enemy was instantly repelled from Semilly; and Field-Marshal Blucher, the moment he could observe any thing of the enemy's position, ordered the cavalry from the rear to advance and turn his left flank. General Count Woronzoff, who was on the right of the Field-Marshal's position, advanced, at the same time, with his infantry; pushed forward two battalions of yagers, which drove in the enemy's posts, sustained a charge of cavalry, and maintained themselves in an attitude to keep the left of the enemy in check until the cavalry could advance.

The Field-Marshal, at the same time, directed the advance of a part of General Bulow's corps against the village of Ardon; from which the enemy, after sustaining a fire for about half an hour, was compelled to retreat, whilst the cavalry was taking a circuit round from the rear: and at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy was observed to be advancing a column of sixteen batta-

lions of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, along the *chaussée* from Rheims. General D'York was directed to oppose him, and General Baron Sacken to General D'York's support. It was here that the battle became most general and decisive. The enemy opened a formidable battery of at least forty or fifty pieces of artillery, and advanced as if confident of success. He formed a column of attack, and was moving forward with a *pas de charge* to the village of Altheis, when Prince William of Prussia, who was advancing to the village at the same time, met and overthrew him. He then began his retreat, which soon became a flight. He was pursued as far as Corbeny, losing artillery, baggage, and prisoners, by the way. On the 10th of March, when the action was scarcely concluded, 45 pieces of cannon, and 4000 prisoners, were already brought in.

Thus completely triumphed the truly great Field-Marshal BLUCHER, over the utmost efforts of him who till now had been stiled "the greatest captain of the age." The Silesian army, and its consummate general, had been the object of his peculiar disquietude; and had been incessantly (either by the Emperor of the French in person, or by his best generals) attacked, and seriously engaged, during the last forty-two days. Buonaparte knew well that he could only contend with BLUCHER sword in hand; and that he must conquer, or be conquered. He was aware that the loyalty and patriotism of the Field-Marshal was not in any degree inferior to his military prowess, and that he could make no compromise with either.

During the night of the 10th, Buonaparte retired towards Soissons, pursued by the cavalry of the Field-Marshal's advanced guard.

The negotiations for a peace, which had been carried on at Chatillon-sur-Seine since the 4th of February, were now terminated; and, upon this occasion, Marshal BLUCHER issued the following proclamation to the French people:—

"Frenchmen! Your own preservation induces me once more to address you. Attempts are made to mislead you, by proclamations, which try to persuade you that we have no other object than to desolate and divide France; and by lying accounts of advantages, which it is pretended

pretended the French troops have gained. It is enough to recal to mind the conduct of our sovereigns, and the conduct of yours—to contemplate what has passed in Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, and to see that our armies are at present more numerous and finer than ever—to know how unworthily your credulity is constantly abused. In order to judge of the events of the war, you have only to inquire of the inhabitants of Laon, concerning what happened on the 9th and 10th of this month, in which days the French army, commanded by the Emperor Napoleon in person, was totally defeated under the walls of this town. Ask them if they did not see the enemy fly before our valorous troops; if they have not seen the trophies of our victories, consisting of 50 pieces of cannon, of numerous caissons, and some thousand prisoners? And it was besides only a part of the army entrusted to my command which gained this decisive victory, while another part made themselves masters of St. Quintin, where they took 45 pieces of brass cannon; and while the grand army, after having, on the 3d and 4th, defeated near Troyes the corps opposed to it, is advancing on the other side towards your capital. Do not, then, be so blind as farther to listen to the promises, the deceptions, and the castigations of a government, whose only object is to arm you against us, to prolong the war at the expence of the last drop of your blood, and of the property of all of you.

“Excesses have been committed by our soldiers. This proceeded from a sentiment of revenge, which they cherished because several of their comrades had been murdered by the inhabitants. I have, however, repressed them: I have had the guilty punished, even with death. But reflect, that there is no more certain means to prevent the excesses of the soldiery, than to remain quietly in your houses; not to shut your doors, which are then of necessity forced open; and, above all, not to keep up any communication with our enemies, or take up arms against us. I have not punished, as I might have done, the cruelties committed by some towns and villages against couriers and single soldiers of the allied army, hoping that my moderation might call them back to their duty. But I inform you, from this day, stronger measures shall be adopted; and that the towns and villages,

whose inhabitants shall dare to take up arms against our troops, or to oppose our military operations, shall be burnt, painful as it will be to me to be compelled in this manner to punish the innocent with the guilty.

“ We desire nothing else, I repeat it to you, than the peace and repose of Europe. The negotiations at Châtillon, when they are published, will convince you, that it is your sovereign alone, who, in spite of what he says to you, continually throws fresh obstacles in the way: mean time, I need only remind you of the celebrated speech which a Frenchman (M. Raynouard) made to the Legislative Body, to found your opinion upon it.

“ For the rest, all the nations of Europe combat for one end. The event cannot be doubtful. A longer resistance, and even some advantages, if you may flatter yourselves with them, will serve only to render you more unhappy than you already are.

“ Given at head-quarters, Laon, March 14th.

“ VON BLUCHER.”

On the 18th of March (after being joined on the 16th, at Laon, by the corps of General St. Priest, who had been compelled to retreat from Rheims after a very brave resistance), the Field-Marshal again put his army in motion.

On the 19th, he directed Generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, and Benkendorff, with their corps, to retake Rheims, which they accordingly effected; and Buonaparte retired to Chalons and Epernay.

The successes of the Silesian army now opened such important ulterior views, that the commander-in-chief of the grand allied army determined to support the Field-Marshal in his victorious career; by advancing upon Chalons.

In pursuance of this resolution, Prince Schwartzenberg took up a position at Menil-la-Comtesse, before Arcis-sur-Aube, where the enemy had assembled a considerable force. On the 21st, an attempt was made to prevent the junction of the Prince with Marshal Blucher. It however failed; and Buonaparte then withdrew towards Vitry, leaving at Arcis a strong rear-guard. This place was immediately attacked by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, and carried after a gallant defence.

The situation of the allied armies, their continued suc-
cesses,

cesses, and the diminishing resources of the enemy, seem at this period to have so far bewildered him, that he was compelled to adopt a plan of operations the most extraordinary in their nature, and so suddenly conceived, that none of his commanders of detached corps could be made acquainted with his intentions in time to aid them by their co-operation. That he was driven into this situation chiefly by the military skill and bravery of the Field-Marshal, and his noble companions in arms, must be apparent to the readers of the preceding account of his share in the French campaign. The astonishing events which now so rapidly followed, were all the glorious consequences of the perfect performance of the Field-Marshal's part. They have been already narrated in the preceding Memoir, as amply as is consistent with the plan of our Work.

The Field-Marshal accompanied his Sovereign and the Emperor of Russia into England, and was no sooner landed at Dover, on the 4th of June, than he was created by the King of Prussia PRINCE OF WAGSTADT in Silesia, with a suitable territory and revenue. His own countrymen too, anxious to commemorate his splendid services, caused a medal to be struck at Breslau, the capital of Silesia, to record the battle of the Katzbach, fought on the 26th of August 1813. On the obverse is the head of Field-Marshal Blucher, with the legend—" *Albert Leopold Von Blucher, born December 16, 1743:*" on the reverse, the Province of Silesia seated on trophies, having in her right hand an emblem of victory, and resting her left on a shield displaying the arms of Silesia, with the legend—" *Silesia delivered—Battle of the Katzbach.*"

Marshal BLUCHER arrived in St. James's Park about six o'clock in the afternoon, by the Horse-Guards, in the Prince Regent's open carriage, escorted by a party of Light Horse. Three troops of the Queen's Bays were drawn up on the parade. The moment he observed them, he arose and pulled off his hat, stedfastly looking at them, and remained in this position until he had passed the whole. The drivers proceeded to Carlton House. No sooner were the stable-doors opened, than there was a general rush in of the people on horse and foot that had followed the Marshal's carriage. It was with the utmost difficulty that the gates could at length be

be shut. The multitude proceeded up the yard of Carlton House with the carriage, continually shouting the praises of BLUCHER. Upon his arrival being notified, Colonels Bloomfield and Congreve came out, dressed in full regimentals, received the Marshal uncovered, and in that state conducted him to the principal entrance of Carlton House. The crowd assembled in Pall Mall now scaled the walls and lodges in great numbers: their impetuous zeal on this occasion was indulged, and the great doors of the hall were thrown open, and some of the horsemen had nearly entered the hall. After the first interview of the General with the Prince, the Regent accompanied him back from his private apartments; and, in the centre of the grand hall, surrounded by the people, placed a blue ribband on the Field-Marshal's shoulder, fastening it with his own hand, to which was hung a medallion, or likeness of the Prince, set with diamonds. Marshal BLUCHER knelt while the Prince was conferring this honour, and, on his rising, kissed the Prince's hand. His Royal Highness and the Marshal now bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description.

The Marshal afterwards conversed with the Prince for about half an hour, and then proceeded to the apartments provided for him in St. James's Palace, followed by an immense multitude, some of whom got into the carriage with him: and numbers remained in the court till after dark, huzzaing &c. the Marshal frequently shewing himself at the window, and in the most affable manner expressing his sense of the reception they gave him.

The following interesting anecdotes, which illustrate the very amiable character of this truly brave man, must not be omitted.

On Sunday, June 19th, while he was giving audience to some of his friends at his apartments in St. James's, three females made their way into his presence, apparently affected with strong emotions of veneration and gratitude toward the illustrious veteran. On making their business known, through the medium of a foreign gentleman present, it appeared that they were the mother and two sisters of a seaman belonging to an English ship of war, who, with others, had been cast on shore, in the ship's boat, on the coast of Pomerania, during the short war

war between Prussia and England; and who, being obliged to surrender themselves, fell into the hands of the Field-Marshal, who not only treated them with all possible kindness, but maintained them at his own expence for several weeks, clothed them, supplied them with money, and finally sent them home to their own country. This grateful fellow was with his ship at Portsmouth, and, not being at liberty to come to town to thank the gallant veteran himself, had charged his mother and sisters to wait upon him for that purpose. The Field-Marshal was highly pleased with this instance of a British sailor's gratitude. He wrote his name upon the letter addressed to the mother, to convince her son that his request had been complied with, and further said, that he should shortly be at Portsmouth, and would not return without seeing the seaman himself.

On Tuesday, a highly interesting scene took place at the Committee Room for conducting the subscription for the suffering Germans, in which the gallant veteran was a principal actor. The Marshal addressed the Committee, in German, saying, He was happy in the opportunity of expressing his sentiments of gratitude to them for the laudable exertions they had made towards the relief of his suffering countrymen; and he felt the value of these exertions the more, inasmuch as he had so often, from his situation, been doomed to be the unwilling instrument of their misery and distress. He made his acknowledgments to the ladies for the zeal and activity with which they came forward to assist their suffering sisters of Germany; and he did not exceed the truth, in saying, that, after a year of privations during an afflicting war, he reckoned the few weeks he had resided in England among the most happy of his life: and he concluded with these emphatical words—"Had not I a wife and children, whose inclinations and conveniences it is my wish and duty to consult, I declare to you, I never would leave this blessed country. I cannot find words to express the true feelings of my grateful heart for all the kindnesses I have experienced; but if the ladies, the committee, and the British public, could lay their hands upon my heart, they would feel how strong it beats for them. I cannot say more, except that I wish them to enjoy, in everlasting peace, those blessings they so richly deserve."

The brave have at all times been rewarded by the smiles and approbation of the fair sex. In this country, the Field-Marshal, greeted on all sides in the most affectionate manner by the people, experienced the most flattering notice on the part of the ladies. Elegant females pressed forward through the crowds, and constantly surrounded his residence, to have the happiness of shaking hands with him. The venerable and gallant Field-Marshal was not at all insensible to these expressions of cordiality: he received them with delight and respect, often making an immediate return in the present of a medal or ring. On one occasion, a most interesting and elegant female of high rank introduced herself to his presence; and, obtaining his attention, with much emotion, from diffidence and the peculiarity of the situation in which she placed herself, she most eloquently expressed her ardent desire to behold and embrace the hero that had restored the glory of his country, and so eminently contributed to destroy the tyranny under which Europe so long had groaned. Equally affected at her address, the venerable Blucher advanced to meet her embrace with the affection of a parent for a child. The lady took the opportunity, while her head reclined on his bosom, to slip a diamond ring of considerable value on his finger. Nothing could be more affecting or delightful than the scene, so honourable to the parties. The lady, having accomplished the object of her visit, after gracefully accepting from the Field-Marshal the medal struck in his honour at Breslau, retired.

The amiable manners of the Field-Marshal are calculated to make as great conquests at court as his military talents have achieved in the field. There are innumerable instances of his attention to the feelings of others, and, indeed, to the sacrifice of his own. The following anecdote will prove that he has a heart readily disposed to take an interest in the happiness of domestic life, even towards those not known to him. This disposition certainly gives an additional grace to his military reputation. The amiable and accomplished Mrs. Sheridan had been for some time confined to her couch, after a severe illness. She earnestly partook of the general desire to see the gallant Blucher. This was stated by Mr. Sheridan (in terms which no one could better express than himself)

to

to his friend Sir Thomas Stepney, who had long been intimate with the Field-Marshal. The result was, the generous and kind-hearted hero making a visit of two hours in Saville Row, giving up the fête at Chiswick to which he had been invited by the Duke of Devonshire.

The Field-Marshal's passion for play has been marked by a variety of anecdotes, some of which are not without considerable interest. During his late campaigns, he amused himself sometimes by playing with the officers of his own staff, to whom he generally returned the sums he might have won. But, amongst these, there was a young Prussian Count, whose growing love of play he was determined, if possible, to check, though unable to control his own. Having won of him to the amount of three thousand pounds, he sent for him to his tent the next morning; and, after a short lecture on the ruinous folly of play, he said, in German, "You are young enough to profit by the example which the indiscretion of a long life has rendered too habitual in me to be conquered. The money which you lost to me last night I shall restore with pleasure, on condition that you pledge your honour never to play at any game in future by which you can lose more than 100 rubles in the course of the night." This pledge being given, the Marshal, taking his young friend by the hand, put into it half the sum which he had won, saying, "The other money I shall seal up under your name, to be received by you on calling upon me at the end of twelve months, to complete the redemption of your pledge."

The Field-Marshal had two sons, both men of distinguished bravery and ability. The eldest signalized himself materially in the beginning of the present campaign, by destroying, in the rear of the French army, just at the time when the armistice of September last was concluded, a large park of artillery and ammunition. Buonaparte, with his usual vindictiveness, ordered a detachment against him, by which he was captured, after a brave resistance. He was soon, however, exchanged for an officer of equal rank; but, unfortunately, he fell sick, and died in a few days. He was colonel of a regiment of Prussian Hussars. His brother is a major in the light cavalry, under the immediate orders of his father, and bids fair to emulate the glory of his venerable parent.

The Field-Marshal remained a short time in England after the departure of his sovereign; and at length, highly gratified with the reception he had met with from a people who, of all others, best know how to appreciate the qualities of the soldier and the virtues of a patriot, took his departure.

For the present, our Memoir of the public life of Field-Marshal Blucher must be concluded. It has been as glorious as fortunate, and, we trust, will be lengthened in the enjoyment of every reward his sovereign and country gratefully bestow. His loyalty and patriotism will ever be the favourite theme of the historian; and, in the field of Mars, the name of **BLUCHER** will be the rallying cry to victory. It is the glory of the Field-Marshal to have restored that of his country; and his singular good-fortune, to have lived to beat down its cruel enemy, and to see the good cause triumph.

We have given ample details of the military operations in which the Field-Marshal was actually engaged, or which were connected with his, to develop the difficulties of his situation at various times, and the consummate valour and prudence which never failed to surmount them. How often did his inveterate foe pronounce his utter destruction! how often determined it! and if it had been permitted to human power, would have effected it. As we have already observed, it became necessary to Buonaparte that Blucher should be destroyed. His name and actions excited an universal resistance to the tyrant in every honourable breast, and broke the chains of the unhappy enslaved. His example inspired his army with the same enthusiasm; and every man was prepared to die rather than disgrace it. How could the tyrant hope to succeed against such a general—against such soldiers? The issue of the struggle will be a lesson, if experience could but teach mankind, that might long insure the peace of the world. Oh! that it may be so!

* * It appears, from authentic documents which have come to hand since the commencement of our work, that Field-Marshal Blucher was born at Rostock, a city situated on the Baltic Sea, 75 miles east of Lubeck, about the middle of May 1741, the inhabitants of which are about to erect a splendid pillar to his memory.





*Field Marshal
The Duke of Wellington.*

Memoirs of the Public Life
OF
FIELD-MARSHAL THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

THE decided influence which the war in Spain had on the ultimate success of that carried on upon a larger scale in the north of Germany against Buonaparte, and which was wholly maintained by the splendid achievements of a British army and its illustrious commander in chief, induces us, in respect to the universal feeling on the subject, to give an early place to the Memoirs of his Grace the Duke of Wellington; and, in order to do justice to those transcendant talents, that surmounted every difficulty, and in the event so far exceeded the most sanguine expectations even of his friends, we shall make some preliminary observations upon the circumstances which called them into exertion.

It is not our intention, or within the province of our work, to discuss the policy of the war in the peninsula. The success with which it has been crowned, has set the question at rest, and acquired an unanimous approval of the measure. Its success, however, would not with us give it the character of justice, nor even its expediency entitle it to our approbation, if its cause had not been, of all others, the most honourable that could have called for British interference, and employed an English army in a foreign land.

Continental wars have certainly never been popular in this country; not from any notion of military inferiority, but rather because it has been the opinion of our wisest politicians, that, except in defence of our colonies, all the offensive efforts of the country should be made by its navy.

The circumstances, however, of the last twenty years, and particularly the unbounded ambition of Buonaparte, which destroyed all the ancient relations of the society of nations, and proposed either to bend them wholly to his sway, or to annihilate them as powers, required a vigour of opposition beyond the limits of ordinary rules of policy; and those who were once most jealous of continental wars became the loudest advocates for the employment of a military force on the great theatre of the war: and, accordingly, no opportunity was omitted when this could be done with any prospect of success.

The occasion, however, had not yet arrived to justify this policy; and our success was not in proportion to our enthusiasm. The enemy at length exceeded all the bounds of morality, and, by his atrocious attack upon Spain, gave us an opportunity which subsequent events have proved how wise it was to seize and to improve.

The treaty of Tilsit was scarcely concluded, when Buonaparte turned his eyes to the west of Europe, and resolved on the subjugation of Spain and Portugal. His guilty mind, though perhaps impenetrable by the stings of remorse, could never be at rest so long as the sovereignty of a neighbouring great and glorious peninsula resided in the house of Bourbon. The reduction of that noble country under his own power appeared to be necessary to the security of the thrones he had already usurped, and even to his personal safety.

In the combined plan of treachery and force, which he determined to pursue for the attainment of that object, it was his first care to foment discord in the royal family. The Prince of Asturias had transmitted to his father a sketch of the administration of the Prince of Peace, charging him with a notorious attachment and subserviency to France. Buonaparte, apprised of this, stimulated the minister to the proceedings at the Escorial in 1807; and then it was his policy to take the part of the oppressed Prince against the ministerial oppressor. He set himself, by nourishing the ambition of the son, to excite the resentment of the father, and render them mutual objects of mistrust, jealousy, and hatred; to disarm the father from taking precautions against the son, while he still encouraged the son in his views of immediate succession; to seduce to his views all the respectable part of Spain,

or

or, by infamous propositions and surmises, to subject them to popular suspicion; and, in a word, by striking a mortal blow at the head of government, and getting into his power or under his influence, or debasing, the great lords to whom the public might, at a great crisis, be naturally turned, to tear asunder all the bonds of the social compact, and plunge the defenceless nation into anarchy and confusion.

Buonaparte, during his affected journey to Italy towards the close of the year 1807, thought it now time to give an answer to letters he had received from the King of Spain detailing the particulars of the mysterious arrest and release of the Prince of Asturias. In his answer he denied any knowledge of that affair, or that he had ever received any letter from the Prince; though this answer did not accord with that afterwards transmitted by Buonaparte to Ferdinand, in which he formally declares he had received it. He yielded his consent, however, to the King's proposal of a marriage between the heir apparent and a French Princess of Buonaparte's family, well foreseeing that this would afford a pretext for interfering in the private concerns of the royal family; and that, at any rate, it would withhold or withdraw their attention from ulterior measures for the fulfilment of his designs in the peninsula. By this conduct he also hoped to gain the good-will of the Spanish nation in general, as it had a tendency to convince them of the sincerity of his friendship for persons to whom they were so firmly attached. It was further calculated to give credit to the insinuations of his emissaries in Spain, that Buonaparte was secretly inclined to favour the cause of the Prince of Asturias; while, through other channels, the minister and favourite, Godoy, the Prince of Peace, whose ambitious views must soon have been discovered by Buonaparte, was privately encouraged to look forward to the protection of France in the accomplishment of his nefarious project. By this mysterious conduct, Buonaparte threw the King, the Queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the favourite, into extreme disorder; and while they were all of them under this distraction, the French troops were suffered to spread themselves over a great part of the Spanish territory. So far did this infatuation prevail in the administration, that orders were
issued

issued for receiving and treating the French on a more liberal scale than even their own troops*.

Many

* The noble peninsula, comprehending Spain and Portugal, is washed on all sides by the sea, and is joined to France by an isthmus 250 miles in breadth, across which the line of demarcation is formed by the Pyrenees, a chain of mountains the second for elevation in Europe, extending from the angle of the Bay of Biscay in a south-easterly direction to their abutment on the Mediterranean. Across the Pyrenees frequent lateral valleys present communications between France and Spain; of which, however, from political, but chiefly from natural obstacles, none have been made practicable for carriages except two, one at each extremity of the range.

At the western extremity, the road from Bayonne follows the sea-coast to the river Bidassoa, there separating the two countries, over which the ferry carries the traveller into Spain at Irun, a small open town; a couple of miles below which, at the mouth of the Bidassoa, stands the town and fortress of Fontarabia, one of the keys of Spain, and a place of importance until the accession of the house of Bourbon to the throne of that kingdom. From the Bidassoa the road leads in a slanting direction to the south-west, gradually ascending the mountains for fifty miles; and then, crossing the ridge, descends into the plain of the Ebro, there passed not either by bridge or a ford, but by a ferry, although nearly 300 miles from its junction with the Mediterranean. From the Ebro the road bends round to the westward by Burgos, Valladolid, and Segovia, to Madrid, distant 300 miles from the frontier of France.

The communication from France to Spain, at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, proceeds from Perpignan, across the plain of Roussillon, to the foot of the mountains, there washed by a deep and rapid torrent; then up a winding valley to the summit of the gorge of Bellegarde, which divides France from Spain, and is completely commanded by the fortress of that name, impending over its western side. The descent on the south, shorter than that of the north, brings the traveller to La Tunquera, a small village, and the first place in Spain. The mountains there consisting only of one ridge, the distance across from plain to plain by the road is only about five miles. From La Tunquera the road gradually approaches the coast of the Mediterranean, passing by Figueras and Gerona, to Barcelona; and thence by Lerida and Saragossa to Madrid, distant by this route 360 miles from the frontier.

Another much-frequented pass, but fit only for mules and horses, is situated in the road leading south from Bayonne to Madrid, by Pampeluna, the shortest course to that capital.

In addition to the natural rampart of the Pyrenees, the Spanish government had not neglected, in former times, to strengthen certain positions, commanding the most practicable entrance into the kingdom. The fortress of Fontarabia, at the mouth of the Bidassoa, has been already mentioned. Twelve miles farther westward, on a low isthmus, between two small bays, stands St. Sebastian, a much-frequented seaport. It is surrounded with walls: besides which, it is defended with
 bastions

Many important posts in Spain, as well as the whole of Portugal, being now in the possession of the French, Buonaparte transmitted to the King of Spain a complaint, that no further steps had been taken in the affair of the marriage of the heir apparent with his relation. To this Charles replied, that, retaining the same sentiments, he was desirous that the marriage might take place imme-

bastions and half-moons; and the lofty peninsular and rocky hill, which connects the isthmus with the main land, is crowned with an ancient castle of great natural strength, commanding the town and the inlets of the sea on each side.

Access to the interior of Spain by the direct road from Bayonne, across the Pyrenees, is barred by the town and fortress of Pampeluna, situated on a slight elevation, partly surrounded by a small river in the midst of a long plain from two to three miles in breadth. The town is inclosed by slight works, adapted to the form of the ground; but the citadel is a regular fortress connected with the town, which is well supplied with every thing necessary, and garrisoned; and, although at certain points perhaps too near to some high grounds, yet not to be carried but by a numerous attacking army, after a long and formal investment.

France, by means of the fortress of Bellegarde, being in possession of the eastern pass of the Pyrenees, Spain has formed at Figueras, a small town eight miles from the foot of the mountains, a very considerable work on a regular plan. About twenty miles from Figueras stands Gerona, a considerable town defended by respectable works. Barcelona is situate on the margin of an extensive plain, has an extensive population of 100,000 inhabitants. At the south-west extremity of the town rises a detached conical hill of considerable height overhanging the sea called Monjuret, crowned with an ancient castle, strengthened with additional works of later times.

Ninety miles westward from Barcelona, on the way to Madrid, stands Lerida, on the west bank of the Segre, occupying the eastern slope and the confined summit of a small detached hill.

Such are the principal points of defence of the northern frontier of Spain against attack by land.

The French forces assembled on the borders of Spain remained but a short time inactive. Early in the year, a corps entered Catalonia, and on the 16th of February obtained possession of the town and citadel of Barcelona, with the impregnable position of Monjuret, under pretence of marching to the coast to assist in its defence against the English.

The fortress of St. Sebastian and Figueras were also seized by the French in a similar way. At Pampeluna, however, they experienced a different reception. On the arrival of a French officer, at the head of a body of troops from Bayonne, before Pampeluna, demanding admission and possession of the place, the governor, whose garrison had for different reasons been much reduced, refused to comply with his demand, until orders should arrive from his own government. The French commander then brought forward a body of 3000 troops, and compelled the Spaniards, after a severe conflict to surrender.

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diately. Some further proceedings were necessary to the maintenance of Buonaparte's project; and, not being willing to commit these to writing, he thought he could not find a fitter instrument than Don Eugenio Izquierdo, whom he had detained at Paris, in a state of great dejection and terror, artfully impressed upon him, that he might thereby be induced the more effectually to execute his commission, by inspiring the royal parents and the favourite with the same feelings. Izquierdo was ordered to repair to Spain, which he did in a very mysterious and precipitate manner. According to his verbal statements, he did not bring any proposal with him in writing. On his arrival, under these circumstances, at Aranjuez*, the favourite conducted him to the presence of the royal parents; and their conferences were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was impossible for any one to discover the object of the mission. But, soon after his departure from the Spanish capital, their Majesties began to shew a disposition to abandon both the metropolis and the peninsula, and to emigrate to Mexico.

The recent example of the determination taken by the royal family of Portugal (which, as some have conjectured, was not uninfluenced by secret communications from France) induced Buonaparte to form a hope that the example of the court of Lisbon, in the present perplexing and alarming posture of affairs, might be followed by that of Spain. But scarcely had the first reports gone abroad of the intentions of the royal family of Spain to abandon the place of their residence (a resolution unequivocally indicated by the preparations which were going on), when discontent and fear were exhibited in the most lively colours in the features of all the inhabitants of the capital, and of all ranks and classes of people. This alone was sufficient to induce their Majesties to refute the rumour, and to assure the people that they would not abandon them. Nevertheless, such was the general distrust, such the magnitude of the evils which must have ensued, and such and so many the symptoms of a fixed determination to emigrate, that every one was on the alert, and all seemed to be im-

* One of the royal residences, situated on the banks of the Tagus, 23 miles to the southward of Madrid.

pressed with the necessity of preventing a measure fraught with so many mischiefs: the danger increased, and with this the fears of the people. A popular commotion burst forth at Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, like a sudden explosion; the people being actuated by a sort of instinct of self-preservation. The favourite (who, without the title of King, had exercised all the functions of royalty, and who favoured the scheme of emigration, in the hope of withdrawing himself and some portion at least of his enormous treasures from the vengeance of an oppressed and outraged people) was thrown into prison. Scarcely had this tempestuous scene taken place, when the royal parents, finding themselves deprived of the support of their favourite, the Prince of Peace, took the unexpected resolution (which, according to Cevallos, they had for some time entertained) of abdicating their throne; which they accordingly did, in favour of their son and heir, the Prince of Asturias.

Buonaparte, ignorant of this sudden event, and perhaps never supposing that the Spaniards were capable of such resolution, had ordered his brother-in-law, whom he styled Prince Murat Grand-Duke of Berg, to advance with his army towards Madrid, under the idea that the royal family were already on the coast ready to embark, and that, far from meeting the slightest obstacle on the part of the people, they would receive him with open arms as their deliverer and guardian angel. He conceived that the nation was in the highest degree dissatisfied with their government, not reflecting that they were only dissatisfied with the abuses which had crept into the administration of it.

The instant that the Grand-Duke of Berg was apprised of the occurrences at Aranjuez, he advanced with his whole army to occupy the capital of the kingdom; intending, no doubt, to profit by the occasion, and to take such steps as were best calculated to realize the plan of making himself master of Spain.

Meanwhile, the mysterious obscurity of Buonaparte's projects, the proximity of his troops, and the ignorance in which Ferdinand VII. was of the real object of Buonaparte's approach (as was given out) to Madrid, induced this Prince to adopt such measures as appeared best calculated

culated to conciliate his good-will. Not satisfied with having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly and affectionate terms, the King Ferdinand appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and, in his name, to compliment his Imperial Majesty. He also appointed another grandee of Spain to pay a similar compliment to the Grand-Duke of Berg, who had already arrived in the vicinity of Madrid.

One of the contrivances to which the French agent had immediate recourse, was, to assure the King, and to spread the rumour in all quarters, that his Imperial Majesty's arrival in Madrid might be expected every moment. Under this impression, the necessary orders were given for preparing apartments in the palace, suitable to the dignity of so august a guest; and the King wrote again to the Emperor, how agreeable it would be to him to be personally acquainted with his Majesty, and to assure him with his own lips of his ardent desire to strengthen more and more the alliance which subsisted between the two sovereigns.

The Grand-Duke of Berg had, in the mean time, entered Madrid at the head of his troops, and begun, without a moment's delay, to sow the seeds of discord. He spoke in a mysterious manner of the abdication of the crown, executed amidst the tumult of Aranjuez, and gave it to be understood, that until the Emperor acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgement, and that he was under the necessity of treating only with the Royal Father. This pretext did not fail to produce the effect the Duke proposed. The royal parents, the moment they were informed of this circumstance, availed themselves of it, to save the favourite, who remained in confinement, and in whose favour Murat professed to take an interest, for the sole purpose of flattering their Majesties, mortifying Ferdinand, and leaving fresh matter of discord between the parents and the son. In this state of things, the new King made his public entry into Madrid, without any other parade than the most numerous concourse of the capital and its environs, and the strongest expressions of love and loyalty, and acclamations which sprung from the

the joy and enthusiasm of his subjects: a scene truly grand and impressive, in which the young King was seen like a father in the midst of his people, entering his capital as the regenerator and guardian of the monarchy. Of this scene the Grand Duke of Berg was a witness; but, far from abandoning his plan, he resolved to persevere in it with greater ardour. The experiment upon the royal parents produced the desired effect: but whilst Ferdinand, the idol of the nation, was present, it was impossible to carry the plan into execution. It was therefore necessary to make every effort to move this Prince from Madrid. To accomplish this object, the Grand-Duke was extremely assiduous in spreading reports of the arrival of a fresh courier from Paris, and that the Emperor might be expected speedily to arrive in the Spanish capital. He set himself, in the first place, to induce the Infant Don Carlos to set out to receive the Emperor Napoleon, on the supposition that his Royal Highness must meet him before he had proceeded two days on his journey. His Majesty King Ferdinand acceded to the proposal. Murat had no sooner succeeded in procuring the departure of Don Carlos, than he manifested the most anxious desire that the King should do the same, leaving no means untried to persuade his Majesty to take this step, assuring him that it would be attended with the happiest consequences to the King and the whole kingdom.

At the same time that Murat, the French ambassador, and all the other agents of France, were proceeding in this cause, they were on the other hand busily employed with the royal parents, to procure from them a formal protest against the abdication of the crown. His Majesty Ferdinand VII. being incessantly urged to go to meet the French Emperor, painfully hesitated between the necessity of performing an act of courtesy, which he was assured would be attended with such advantageous results, and his reluctance to abandon his loyal and beloved people in such critical circumstances: Cavallos declares that, in this embarrassing situation, his constant opinion, as the king's minister, was, that his Majesty should not leave his capital, until he should have received certain information that the Emperor had actually arrived in Spain, and was on his way and near to Madrid;

and that even then, he should only proceed to a distance so short, as not to render it necessary to sleep one night out of his capital. His Majesty persisted for some days in the resolution not to quit Madrid until he should have received certain advice of Buonaparte's approach: and he would have probably continued in that determination, had not the arrival of General Savary added greater weight to the solicitations of the Grand-Duke (Murat) and the ambassador Beauharnois. General Savary was announced as the envoy from the Emperor, and in that capacity he demanded an audience from the King, which was immediately granted. Savary professed that he was sent by the Emperor, merely to compliment his Majesty, and to know whether his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to those of the King his father. In which case, the Emperor would forego all consideration of what had passed, in no degree interfere with the internal concerns of the kingdom, and immediately recognise his Majesty as King of Spain and the Indies. The most satisfactory answer was given to General Savary; and the conversation was continued in terms so flattering, that nothing more could have been desired. The audience terminated with an assurance on the part of Savary that the Emperor had already left Paris, that he was near Bayonne, and on his way to Madrid.

Scarcely had General Savary left the audience-chamber, when he began to make the most urgent applications to the King to meet the Emperor, assuring him that this attention would be very grateful and flattering to his Imperial Majesty; and he affirmed so repeatedly, and in such positive terms, that the Emperor's arrival might be expected every moment, that it was impossible not to give credit to his assertions. The King, at length, yielded. The day appointed for his departure arrived. General Savary, affecting the most zealous and assiduous attention to his Majesty, solicited the honour of accompanying him on his journey, which at the farthest (according to the information which he had just had of the Emperor's approach) could not extend beyond Burgos.

The King, during his absence (supposed to be only for a few days), left at Madrid a supreme junta of government, consisting of the secretaries of state, usually five
in

in number; the president of which was his uncle, the Infant Don Antonio.

General Savary, in a separate carriage, followed the King to Burgos. But the Emperor Napoleon not having arrived there, the King, urged by the earnest and pressing entreaties of General Savary, proceeded to Vittoria. The General, convinced that his Majesty had resolved to proceed no farther, continued his journey to Bayonne, with an intention, no doubt, of acquainting the Emperor of all that had passed, and of procuring a letter from him, which should determine the King to separate himself from his people. At Vittoria, his Majesty received information that Buonaparte had arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne, where in fact he arrived on the 15th of April.

While the French troops were making suspicious movements in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, General Savary made his appearance in that city, with a letter to Ferdinand, from Buonaparte, dated at Bayonne, April 16th. To the contents of this letter, General Savary added so many and such vehement protestations of the interest which the Emperor took in the welfare of his Majesty and of Spain, that he went so far as to say, "I will suffer my head to be cut off, if, within a quarter of an hour after your Majesty's arrival at Bayonne, the Emperor shall not have recognised you as King of Spain and the Indies. To support his own consistency, he will probably begin by giving you the title of Highness, but in five minutes he will give you that of Majesty; and in three days every thing will be settled, and your Majesty may return to Spain immediately." The King, after some hesitation, determined to proceed to Bayonne.

Scarcely had the King of Spain set foot on the French territory, when he remarked, that no one came to meet him, until his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, when the mayor, attended by the municipality, made his appearance: the carriage stopped, and the mayor addressed his Majesty in the most lively expressions of joy, at having had the honour to be the first to receive a King who was the friend and ally of France. Soon after, he was met by the deputation of three *grandeos*, who had been sent off before by Ferdinand to meet the French Emperor; and their representation of the intentions of Napoleon was not

not of the most favourable nature. He was, however, now too near Bayonne to think of returning. There came out to meet the King, the Prince of Neufchatel, and Duroc Marshal of the Palace, with a detachment of the guard of honour which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend Buonaparte; and they invited Ferdinand to enter Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; which he did on the 20th of April. The residence prepared for the King appeared to all, and was in reality, but little suited to the guest who was to occupy it. This remarkable and expressive neglect formed a striking contrast with the studied magnificence with which the King had prepared for the reception of his ally at Madrid.

While the King's mind was occupied by doubts concerning the meaning of a reception he so little expected, he was informed that the Emperor was on his way to pay him a visit. Buonaparte arrived, and the monarchs embraced each other with every mark of friendship and affection. Napoleon remained but a short time with the Spanish King; at parting, they embraced each other with the same appearance of cordiality. Soon after, Marshal Duroc came to invite the King to dine with the Emperor, whose carriages were coming to convey the King to the Castle of Manac, about the distance of a mile and a half from Bayonne, where Buonaparte resided; which accordingly took place. Napoleon came as far as the steps to receive his Majesty; and, having embraced him again, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

On the 30th of April, their Majesties, the old King and Queen of Spain, arrived in Bayonne, where they were received with all public respect and honour. At five o'clock in the afternoon they were visited by Buonaparte, to whom they complained of the injuries that had been done to them, the perils in which they had been involved, the ingratitude of the men on whom they had lavished their favours, and, above all, on the ingratitude and rebellion (as they said) of their son.

After Ferdinand VII. had returned to his residence, after his dinner at the castle of Manac with Buonaparte, General Savary came to inform him, *that the Emperor of the French and King of Italy had irrevocably determined,*
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that the Bourbon family should no longer reign in Spain! that it should be succeeded by his; and therefore, that his Imperial Majesty required Ferdinand, in his own name and that of all his family, to renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the dynasty of Buonaparte. That such a proposition should be made, and that the bearer of it should be the identical Savary, who, until that moment, had given such solemn and repeated assurances to the Spanish prince of the honourable and friendly sentiments of Buonaparte towards him, struck the new king, and the Spanish chiefs who had accompanied him, with a degree of consternation and surprise not to be described, and opened their eyes to the horrors of their situation.

Buonaparte, having now thrown away the mask, proceeded, without delay, to carry his project into effect. On the following day he summoned to his palace Cevallos, who had been first secretary of state to King Charles, and now occupied the same situation with Ferdinand, and was much in his confidence. In the palace, Cevallos was received by M. de Champagny, Buonaparte's minister for foreign affairs. Cevallos began the conference by complaints of the perfidious artifices practised on his Royal Master to inveigle him into France; and added, that he had been instructed to declare, in the most formal manner, that he neither would nor could renounce his right to the crown of Spain in favour of any individual or family whatever, to the prejudice either of himself or of the branches of his house; and that no person could be called to the throne but by the voice of the nation itself, in virtue of the national right it possessed to select a new family in the event of the extinction of the family then on the throne.

The French minister, in return, insisted on the necessity of the required renunciation, chiefly on the ground that the abdication of King Charles had not been spontaneous. Cevallos protested against the opinion that Buonaparte had any right to interfere in the internal arrangements of Spain; and cited the example of the French government itself, which, in the beginning of the revolution, had positively rejected as inadmissible the request tendered by the King of Spain in favour of his unfortunate cousin Louis XVI. Having stated various circumstances

stances in proof that the late King, in his abdication, had acted from his own free choice, Cevallos was told, that while the house of Bourbon reigned in Spain, France never could be secure in case of war breaking out in the north of Europe.

The conferences between the French and Spanish ministers was interrupted by a command from Buonaparte, who had secretly heard their discourse, to attend him in his cabinet. There, Cevallos tells us, he was treated by the French Emperor as a traitor to his former master, Charles, because he was now in the service of Ferdinand; and reproached, in the most insulting manner, for having maintained, in a former conference with General Moutier, that, however necessary the recognition of Ferdinand's title to the throne of Spain might be to the preservation of amity between the two countries, still that his title was not to be invalidated by the withholding of any such recognition.

Finding, however, Cevallos inflexible in the principles he professed, Buonaparte put an end to the conference with these characteristic expressions—"I have a system of policy of my own; you ought to adopt more liberal ideas, to be less rigid on the point of honour, and not to sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interests of the Bourbon family.

Despairing of success in a negotiation with Cevallos, Buonaparte required Ferdinand to entrust his concerns with some other minister. Accordingly Don Pedro Labrador was selected to conduct the negotiation on the part of Ferdinand, and instructed to declare, that his master neither would nor could consent to the renunciation of his right or those of his family to the throne of their ancestors. The French minister endeavoured to bring over Labrador to his views, by insinuating, that by acquiescing in Buonaparte's plan, he would secure the prosperity of Spain; and, at the same time, promote his own individual advantage. Labrador insisted that Ferdinand should be permitted to return to Madrid, and it was now discovered that he was indeed a prisoner. He, however, still remained inflexible, and Buonaparte had recourse to other expedients for effecting his object. It was with a view to this that the old King and Queen were invited to repair to Bayonne. Their Majesties, therefore, had scarcely arrived

rived at Bayonne, than his Majesty was employed to demand, that his son should resign the crown so lately assumed, signifying, at the same time, his resolution not to remount the throne himself, but to renounce all his rights and those of his family in favour of France. Ferdinand, over-awed, a prisoner, and controlled by circumstances, on the 1st of May, transmitted in writing a conditional renunciation of the crown in favour of his august father. Ferdinand consented to resign all present pretensions to the throne; but upon certain conditions, calculated to prevent the alienation of the sovereignty to any foreign power.

On the 4th of May, the old King, Charles, announced by letter to the Council of Castille, his abdication of all his claims on the Spanish kingdoms, in favour of his friend and ally the Emperor of the French; and on the 5th, a treaty of abdication was agreed to, and signed by the Prince of Peace on the part of Charles IV. and Marshal Duroc on the part of Buonaparte. The Prince of Asturias also signed an act of cession at Bayonne, on the 10th of May; in consequence of which, Buonaparte secured to him the title of Royal Highness, promised to cede to him Navarre, and grant him besides an annual revenue, with other concessions to his relatives, provided they should accede to the treaty.

The intelligence of these proceedings at Bayonne excited the greatest fermentation in every part of Spain, but more particularly in the capital; and when the day arrived, which was the 2d of May, for the departure of the Queen of Etruria (daughter of King Charles), and her son Don Francisco, for Bayonne, to join the rest of the royal family (for Buonaparte had resolved that not a branch or scion should remain in Spain), the whole city was in a tumult. The French troops were called out, and a most horrible carnage ensued. The disturbances being quelled, after great slaughter on both sides, the inhabitants flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end; but Murat, the commander of the French troops, issued in the afternoon general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, before which all persons found with arms were ordered to be shot.

It would be foreign to our present purpose to go through the whole of Buonaparte's subsequent proceed-

ings, for placing a branch of his own family on the Spanish throne. It is sufficient to observe, that this attempt of his was met by the most determined resistance on the part of Spain; and that, aided by the noble and generous assistance afforded to her by Great Britain, whose gallant sons were led on by the immortal WELLINGTON, she has been able successfully to repel and overcome all the attacks made upon her independence, and at last finally to secure, by her perseverance, her firmness, and her courage, that throne to her lawful sovereigns, which was so basely polluted by an ignoble foreign usurper.

Having thus shortly traced the causes which led to the war in Spain, in which the illustrious subject of our present Memoir bore so conspicuous a part, and obtained for himself and his country an imperishable renown, it is time we reverted back to the more early period of his life; and as every particular, however minute, of this distinguished personage cannot fail of proving a source of infinite gratification to our readers, we shall immediately proceed on our pleasing task.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington was born on the 1st of May 1769, and is descended from a noble family in Ireland. His father was created Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington, in 1760; and afterwards married Anne, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Arthur Hill, Viscount Dungannon; by whom he had issue, the present Marquis of Wellesley; William, now Wellesley Pole, in consequence of inheriting the estates of William Pole, of Ballifir, Esq.; Arthur, the present illustrious subject of our Memoir; and several other children.

At an early age, his Grace was sent to Eton, that he might receive the benefit of a public education; and as he had chosen the army for his profession, he afterwards went, at the close of the American war, to Angiers*, in

* The advantages derived from this mode of preparation for an active and public life must have been very great, when we consider that Angiers, at that time, was a large town with upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; and contained not only an university, founded by St. Louis, but also an academy of belles lettres, instituted in 1685; thereby affording every opportunity for the acquirement of general and useful knowledge, and also that polish, so useful, so essential, in an enlarged intercourse with mankind.

France, in order that he might acquire the theory of military science in that celebrated school, then under the direction of the much-esteemed Pignerol, who has long been considered as the Vauban of modern warlike architecture and engineering.

After acquiring a sufficient fund of knowledge in this military school, his Grace received his first commission in the army at a very early period, being made an Ensign in the 41st regiment, on the 25th of December 1787. We find him at the age of twenty-three bearing the rank of Captain in the 18th regiment of light dragoons; from which corps, on the 30th of April 1793, he was appointed to the majority of the 33d, in the room of Major Gore, who then resigned. In this junior rank of field-officer he did not long remain; but availed himself of his seniority to purchase in succession from Lieutenant-Colonel Yorke, who resigned his commission in that regiment; and his appointment took place on the 30th of September 1793.

His Grace, now scarcely four-and-twenty, engaged in active service under the gallant Earl Moira, and early in 1794 was actually embarked with that force which was intended to have erected the standard of loyalty in Brittany; but the fate of the Netherlands and of Flanders was no sooner decided, by the unfortunate issue of the early part of the campaign of that year, under the Duke of York, than his Lordship was ordered to proceed with his small force to Ostend. In the memorable retreat which the noble Earl was obliged soon after to make, in the face of a greatly superior enemy, and at that time in an hostile country, we find his Grace in command of a brigade of infantry: on which occasion he was highly instrumental in the repulse of the French army.

Soon after the return of the British expedition to Holland, every degree of celerity was used to prepare the troops for foreign service; and the 33d being under orders for the West Indies, his Grace, then Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley, embarked in the fleet which, under the command of Admiral Christian, was intended to proceed to that station; but, being repeatedly driven back by the heavy equinoctial gales, in the autumn of 1795, the destination of great part of the forces was altered. The 33d regiment was ordered to Ireland to recruit, where

they remained until his Grace was once more called into active service.

A new æra had now arrived, in which the splendid abilities of his Grace had an opportunity of being brought forward; his brother the Marquis of Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) being appointed to the high and important station of Governor-General of India, whither his Grace, with his own regiment, accompanied him. They arrived at Kedgerree at the mouth of the Ganges, on board the *Virginie* frigate, on the 17th of May 1798; from whence the Governor-General proceeded for Calcutta.

The Spanish war having then been commenced, an attack on Manilla was determined upon, and a large force actually embarked for that service, in which his Grace was to have had a distinguished command. But the intrigues of the French with the native Princes of India, and particularly with Tippoo Saib, obliged the Marquis Wellesley to alter his plans, and reserve his troops for the new war which was likely so soon to break out.

Notwithstanding the friendly protestations of Tippoo Sultaun, the experience of the campaigns under the Marquis of Cornwallis had shewn that the loss of the Coimbatore country and other districts, and even of many of his hill-forts in the Mysore, had produced no steady effect on his mind; and he seemed to fear nothing whilst he possessed his capital.

Impelled by his rooted enmity to the British, Tippoo had dispatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at that island toward the close of January 1798. These ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect; and they were entertained at the public expence during their continuance on the island.

In addition to this, the Governor-General had received undoubted intelligence that Tippoo had for some time previous been employed in military preparations; that he had permitted a body of French troops to land publicly at Mangalore; and that he had actually applied to the directory of France for a powerful force to assist him in his hostile determinations.

All this, however, was in direct opposition to the professions of Tippoo himself; for, in his letters to Sir John Shore (now Lord Teignmouth), while his ambassadors were actually in the Isle of France, and dated on the very day on which the French landed at Mangalore, he declared, that "his friendly heart was disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundation of harmony and concord between the two nations;" and he concluded with expressing a desire that Sir John would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two states.

It was, moreover, afterwards ascertained, that the departure of the large force destined to act against Manilla would have proved a signal to Tippoo to invade the Carnatic, even without waiting for the arrival of the French supplies, as their assistance did not appear necessary to him during the absence of so considerable a portion of the British army. The plan, therefore, of sending a force against Manilla was necessarily abandoned, and the whole plan of operations became changed.

Lieutenant-General Harris was now appointed to command the Madras army, which was concentrated at Vellore, in the Carnatic; but, from the unavoidable delays in providing the necessary equipments for so large a force, it was not in a condition to begin its march before the 11th of February 1799. The contingent of the Nizam, amounting to about 6000 of the Company troops, under the command of Colonel Roberts, and subsidized by his Highness, together with the same number of his own native infantry, marched from Hyderabad, under the command of Meer Allum Bahauder, and had arrived at Chittoor, even before General Harris was ready to march from Vellore.

This latter force, which was strengthened by some of the Company's battalions, was further aided by the accession of the 33d regiment; and the command of the whole given to his Grace, then Colonel Wellesley, forming the reserve of the army.

Lieutenant-General Harris, having determined to advance to Seringapatam, by the route of Talgautporam and Cankanelli, the march commenced at day-break on the 10th of March 1799. The cavalry were in advance, the
baggage

baggage on the right, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, which had marched by the left, moved parallel at some distance on the right flank of the army.

On the 19th, after a fatiguing march, intelligence was received, that the army of Tippoo had advanced to Allagoon; and on the 28th, the left wing and the cavalry having encamped close to a pass, about seven miles from Cankanelli, the right were advanced to Arravully, and Colonel Wellesley's division took up its ground at some distance in the rear.

On the 23d, after securing several posts and passes of importance, the right wing of the cavalry marched from Achil, while Colonel Wellesley with his detachment marched from Cankanelli, and encamped in front of the army, and the village of Allagoor, from whence Tippoo's army had retired. Early on the morning of the day, as the Colonel and his advance approached Sultaunpettah, a cloud of dust to the westward denoted the enemy's army to be in motion, and it afterwards appeared that it had just quitted its position on the westward bank of the Maddoor river, and had encamped at Mallavelly.

The right wing, the cavalry, and the detachment under Colonel Wellesley, pursuing their march, the whole halted on the 25th of March, when they were joined by the left wing and the battering train.

On the 26th the whole moved in compact order, and encamped five miles to the eastward of Mallavelly. The ground of this encampment was open, and easy to be seen from the adjoining heights; and the enemy's advanced parties, amongst which were some elephants, soon appeared upon a distant ridge. From thence, after reconnoitring the British, they retired, and in the evening fourteen or fifteen guns were seen in motion; the whole of which seemed to point out that the Sultaun was preparing for an attack.

On the 27th, therefore, at day-break, Colonel Wellesley's division was ordered to move parallel to the left, but at some distance, so as to cover the baggage, and to be in readiness to act as circumstances should require; whilst the main body of the army marched from its left flank on the great road leading to Mallavelly. Major-General Floyd commanded the advance of the whole, having under him all the picquets, together with five regiments
of

of cavalry ; he approached within a mile of Mallavelly, but was there obliged to halt, in consequence of discovering a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry on the right flank, whilst their infantry remained on the heights beyond that place.

Having reconnoitred his position, he discovered some guns moving towards the right of the enemy's line, as if with the intention of occupying a ridge which enfiladed the low ground on the eastern flank of the village. He immediately concluded that it was the enemy's intention to open a fire upon the troops as they passed this ground ; upon which Major Floyd immediately informed the commander-in-chief, who instantly took measures for an immediate attack, in order to frustrate the enemy's plans.

Colonel Wellesley, with the division under his command, was ordered to attack Tippoo's right flank ; whilst Colonel Sherbrooke, with the picquets, supported by the right wing of the main body, under Major-General Brydges, was to penetrate through the village of Mallavelly, towards the centre of the enemy's line ; and Major-General Popham, with the left wing and rear guard, was to remain at the fort end of the village of Mallavelly, for the protection of the battering train and baggage. The five regiments of cavalry were formed on the left of the road, with orders to support Colonel Wellesley's attack.

The Colonel's force was no sooner in motion than the enemy drew off his guns to a ridge where the main body of his infantry was drawn up. At this time General Harris, who had led the picquets and the right wing in person, arrived at the Fort of Mallavelly, where Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson having advanced to reconnoitre the ground on the western side, waited for further instructions.

The General, from the great distance of the enemy's position, was of opinion, that he did not mean to advance ; he gave orders, therefore, for a new encampment. The ground, however, had scarcely been marked out for this purpose, when twelve or fourteen guns were opened from different parts of the enemy's line, at a distance of two thousand yards. Colonel Sherbrooke immediately pushed forward with the picquets to a village in front of the left
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of the hostile army, from which he soon drove off a party of their cavalry and rocket-men. This position was of such consequence, that a body of the enemy's horse soon began to hover on the right flank; but they were kept in check by the 25th dragoons, under Colonel Cotton, who still maintained their position. The picquets were now the most advanced part of the army, and had been most judiciously posted by Colonel Sherbrooke with their right to the village; but they were considerably annoyed by the cannonade and rockets; the 5th, 1st, and 3d brigades were ordered therefore to advance and form upon the left.

At this juncture Colonel Wellesley, supported by Major-General Floyd, with the three remaining regiments of cavalry, advanced *en echelon* of battalions; the whole line thus moving slowly and steadily, time was given for the whole to act together, the enemy's cannonade being answered by as many of the field-pieces as could be brought up; the action thus became general along the whole front. At this moment a desperate attempt was made by Tippoo, who moved forward a column, to the number of two thousand men, in excellent order, towards the 33d regiment; but this gallant corps, reserving its fire with the utmost steadiness, received that of the enemy at the distance of sixty yards; and, continuing to advance, the column gave way and were thrown into disorder, at which critical moment General Floyd making a rapid charge, completed the rout with great slaughter. The enemy's first line was now forced to retire to the next height, where their second line was formed, from whence they immediately retreated; leaving the British undisputed masters of the field.

On the approach towards Seringapatam, Colonel Wellesley, with his division, accompanied by the cavalry and the right wing of the army, encamped on the north side of the river Cauvery, whilst the left wing crossed that river at a very practicable ford; a movement which tended much to defeat the proposed plans of the enemy against their advance.

On the 1st of April 1799, the whole army was within thirteen miles of Seringapatam: on the 3d the army marched by the left; and Colonel Wellesley's division, keeping on the right, moved along the bank of the river,
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the whole encamping again upon the high road, at the distance of five miles from that fortress.

On the 5th, the whole army took up its ground opposite the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of only three thousand five hundred yards, the left being to the river Cauvery, whilst Colonel Wellesley, with his division, was encamped *en potence* to the right of the whole.

In front of the camp were several ruined villages, and rocky eminences; besides an aqueduct, which passing from the left of the camp takes there an easterly direction, till it approaches within seventeen hundred yards of the fort, where it winds off to the right to a large grove of cocoa-trees and bamboos, called the Sultaunpettah Tope. Those positions afforded cover for the enemy's infantry and rocket-men so near to the camp, that many of the rockets thrown from these places fell among the tents.

In order to dislodge them from this cover, Colonel Wellesley had orders, on the evening of the 5th of April, to have the 33d regiment and the 2d Bengal regiment in readiness at sun-set; whilst Colonel Shaw with the 12th, and two battalions of Sepoys with their guns, received similar orders: the former being destined to scour the Sultaunpettah Tope, whilst the latter was to attack the posts at the aqueduct. A little after sun-set, Colonel Wellesley entered the Tope, and was immediately assailed on every side by a hot fire of musquetry and rockets, which compelled him to confine his object to the making a diversion, and to postpone the attack until a more favourable opportunity. Colonel Shaw was enabled to seize upon a ruined village within forty yards of the aqueduct, by which means he secured his troops from the fire of the enemy. The commander-in-chief the next morning, perceiving the village where Colonel Shaw was posted was much galled by the enemy, and feeling that the possession of the Tope was absolutely necessary; he ordered three distinct attacks to be made, under cover of some guns, brought forward for that purpose. It will be unnecessary to particularize these attacks, which were under the able direction of Colonel Wellesley; it is sufficient to observe, that the enemy was driven from all his posts, which were immediately occupied

cupied by the British army; which had now the complete possession of a connected line, extending from the river to the Tope, a distance of two miles, and forming a complete line of contravallation.

In this way the siege of Seringapatam continued, with great obstinacy and courage on both sides, until the 3d of May; when, a breach being considered practicable, the troops destined for the assault were stationed in the trenches before day-break of the 4th, at which time Colonel Wellesley was ordered to take the command of the reserve in the advanced works, and to act as circumstances required. His own regiment formed part of the left column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, which was to attack the northern rampart. About half-past one in the afternoon, General Baird stepped out of the trench; and, drawing his sword, exhorted his men to follow him, and prove themselves worthy of British soldiers. In an instant, the columns destined for the attack rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the batteries; but they were immediately assailed by rockets and musquetry from the enemy. In six minutes, the forlorn hope, closely followed by the rest of the troops, had reached the summit of the breach, where the English colours were immediately displayed. In a few minutes more, the breach was crowded with men; who, being now collected in sufficient force to enter upon the ramparts, filed off to the right and left*.

Thus fell the strong fortress of Seringapatam; and, with it, the power of Tippoo Saib in the East Indies. The Sultaun himself, after bravely fighting to the last, and proving himself worthy of a better fate, fell covered with wounds, and was found by the British among heaps of slain, in a gateway, in the north face of the fort.

When the Sultaun was first brought from under the

* The forlorn hope was led by a serjeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, who volunteered his services on the occasion; his name was Graham. He ran forward to examine the breach; and, mounting it, he pulled off his hat, and with three cheers called out, "Success to Lieutenant Graham!" alluding to his having a commission if he survived: on which he rejoined his party, and remounted with them with the colours in his hand. Upon reaching the rampart, he struck the colour-staff in it, exclaiming, "Damn 'em, I'll shew them the British flag!" and was at that moment shot through the head.

gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm that for a few moments Colonel Wellesley was doubtful whether he was not alive; but, on feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. The countenance was no way distorted, but had an appearance of calm composure. His turban, jacket, and sword-belt, were gone; but the body was recognized by his people: and an officer who was present, with the leave of General Baird, tore off from his right arm the talisman, which contained (sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk) an amulet of a brittle metallic substance of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in magic Arabic and Persian characters. The body was placed in his palanquin, and conveyed to the court of the palace; shewing him, who had left that palace in the morning a mighty prince, now brought back a lump of clay, and his kingdom overthrown! Every delicacy was shewn to the remains of the unfortunate Tippoo; and the preparations for his funeral were superintended by the principal *canzee* of Seringapatam.

On the morning of the 5th of May, Colonel Wellesley relieved General Baird, and on the following day was appointed to the permanent command of Seringapatam; when all his exertions were used to restrain the excesses of the men.

Colonel Wellesley was next appointed one of the Commissioners to arrange the division of the Mysore country, as also the distribution of the immense treasure found in Tippoo's capital. The first duty which devolved to him in consequence of this appointment was the removal of the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. This delicate office fell more particularly to his lot as being Commandant; and although his conduct on this occasion was open to the suggestions of the other Commissioners, yet it is generally allowed that to his prudential conduct is to be attributed the facility with which this very difficult task was accomplished*.

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* In detailing the steps necessary for this delicate business, the Governor-General in his instructions observed, that it could not be entrusted to any person more likely to combine every office of humanity with the prudential precautions required, than Colonel Wellesley;

The next step of the Commissioners was to apportion the dominions of Tippoo amongst the conquerors. To the East India Company was allotted the province of Canara, and the districts of Coimbatoor and Daraporam; all the territory between the British possessions in the Carnatic and those of Malabar, with the forts and ports forming the heads of all the passes above the Ghauts, on the Table Land; and the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam. To the Nizam were assigned the districts of Gooty and Gurruconda, together with a tract of country along the line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nandidroog, and Colar. To the Mahrattas were given Harponnelly, Soonda, Anagoondy, Chittledroog, and a part of Biddenore, except the frontier fortresses. A descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, about five years old, was placed upon the throne on certain conditions; and the sons and relations of Tippoo, as we have before observed, were removed to the Carnatic. Thus ended a war which secured the British empire in India from the apprehension of a powerful and formidable enemy.

The distinguished subject of our Memoir had hitherto acted under the command of others; but we are now to view him engaged in a more difficult part, being entrusted with the sole command of an expedition directed against a freebooter, of the name of Dhoondiah Waugh, whose force increased to so alarming an extent as to threaten the security of the Company's possessions, and also the territory of their allies on the western borders of the peninsula. In the year 1800, the tranquillity of the Mysore country became much disturbed by this freebooter; it was necessary, therefore, to send a force for his suppression, of whom it was determined to make a severe example, for the excesses he had committed.

Colonel Wellesley, therefore, having assembled a suffi-

and he therefore committed to his discretion, activity, and humanity, the whole arrangement, but subject always to such suggestions as might be offered by the other Commissioners. He added, that Colonel Wellesley, in his name, would give the most unequivocal assurances of protection and indulgence to every part of the family; and that he was persuaded, that the humanity of General Harris would induce him to exert every effort to mitigate all the rigorous parts of this necessary and most expedient revolution, so loudly called for by a due regard to British interest, and the welfare of the natives themselves.

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cient British and native force, proceeded on his mission ; and, crossing the Malpurba at Jellahaul, on the 3d of September, entered the territories of the Nizam at Hanam-sagur on the 5th. Colonel Stevenson, who had a force under his command to co-operate in this service, being obliged to cross the river in boats, was not able to advance until the day preceding ; and as it appeared probable that when Dhoondiah should be pressed by the whole of the force on the northern side of the Duab, he would return into Savanore by Kannagherry and Bopul, and would thus impede the communication ; or, if favoured by the Patans of Cannoul, and the Polygars on the right bank of the Tumbundra, he would pass that river, and would enter the territories of Mysore ; Colonel Wellesley determined to lead his detachment to the southward, and to prevent the execution of either of these designs, if he had them. He also resolved afterwards to push him to the eastward, and to take such advantage of his movements as might turn up ; while Colonel Stevenson should move by Moodgul and Nohsry, at the distance of between 12 and 20 miles from the Kistna ; and the Mahratta and Moghul cavalry, then collected in one body, between the British force and the corps of the freebooters.

In pursuance of this plan, he arrived with his little army at Kanagherry on the 7th, and on the 8th moved with the cavalry to Baswapoor, arriving on the following day at Yepalperwy ; the infantry being at Howly and Shinnoor, about 15 miles in the rear. On the 9th in the morning, Dhoondiah moved from Malgherry, a place about 25 miles from Rachoor, at which he had been encamped for some days, towards the Kistna ; but, on his road, having seen Colonel Stevenson's camp, he returned and encamped about 9 miles in front of Colonel Wellesley's force ; it was clear, however, that he did not know of the near approach of the British, believing them still to be at Shinnoor.

On the 10th in the morning, the Colonel moved forward with his force, and met Dhoondiah's army at a place called Conaghul, about six miles from Yepalperwy, being then on their march to the westward, apparently with the design of passing between the British and native detachments. At this period Dhoondiah's army consisted of 5000 cavalry, which Colonel Wellesley immediately attacked

attacked with his little force, consisting only of the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2d regiments of native cavalry.

Dhoondiah was strongly posted, with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conahgull, and he stood the attack for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge made by the four regiments (which their gallant and judicious commander was obliged to form into one line, in order to bear some proportion in length to that which they had to attack) that the whole of the enemy's line gave way, and were pursued for many miles with great slaughter.

In the retreat, many (among whom was Dhoondiah himself) fell: and the whole of the remainder were dispersed, and scattered in small parties over the face of the country. Part of the enemy's baggage was still remaining in his camp, about three miles from Conahgull. The Colonel returned thither, and got possession of all the elephants, camels, and every thing they had.

This complete defeat and dispersion of the rebels, and, above all, the death of Dhoondiah, put a complete end to the war, and freed the government from all fears for the tranquillity of the country. Colonel Wellesley received for his eminent services the thanks of General Braithwaite, commander of the forces at Madras, and the Governor-General in council, for the great and unremitting activity he displayed in these operations. The orders of the Governor-General also noticed the patience with which the officers and troops had endured a series of fatiguing service, and the matchless bravery with which their small force had acted against an enemy so much superior in number.

The next considerable transaction in the life of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, which we have to record, is the very conspicuous part he bore in the Mahratta war: for, having now attained the rank of Major-General, the command of a considerable body of troops was entrusted to him for the purpose of protecting Poonah, the capital of Peishwa, the Company's ally, which was then menaced by Scindiah and Holkar.

It having been deemed absolutely necessary by the Governor-General of India to resort to warlike measures
for

for the suppression of these enterprising chiefs, a considerable force was accordingly collected at Hurryhur, under the command of Lieutenant-General Stewart, who had orders to detach without delay a sufficient force towards Poonah, which was most seriously menaced by the hostile chieftains.

This detachment, consisting of about 12,000 men, was placed under the command of Major-General Wellesley, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta territory. The Major-General advanced from Hurryhur on the 3d of March 1803, and arrived at the Tumbundra river on the 12th, which he then crossed; his march through the whole of the Mahratta territory being most successful: for the British troops were every where received as friends, and almost all the chiefs in the vicinity of the route of the detachment joined with their forces, and accompanied the British army to Poonah.

On the 15th of April, Holkar*, the rebel chief, reached Chandore, about 130 miles from Poonah; whilst Amrut Rao, one of his officers, was left with a force of only 1500 men in that city. Colonel Stevenson, with a subsidiary force furnished by the Nizam, had arrived at Akloos, a town only eight miles from the Necra river, and but a short distance from General Wellesley's army, who immediately reinforced him with the Scotch brigade.

The Major-General having now received information from the British resident at Poonah that Amrut Rao had orders to burn the city as soon as the British army made its appearance, and being urged by the Peishwah to dispatch a part of his army for the purpose of saving some

* Holkar was the son of a native of the Dekan, a man so poor that it was with the greatest labour and difficulty he was able to maintain his family. Milhar Rao Holkar, the son, becoming an orphan at six years of age, went to his uncle, who, with six looty or irregular horsemen, was in the service of Rajah Seluba, of the Saho family. On entering his ninth year, his uncle, who had a large flock of sheep and goats, consigned them to him for pasturage; in consequence of which, early every morning he took them out to graze, returning again with them in the evening. One day, whilst carrying him his victuals, the uncle perceived his nephew asleep, whilst a large black snake had exalted and spread his head over him, like an umbrella, to shade him from the rays of the sun. The snake retired to its hole on the uncle's approach, who was in the utmost astonishment, but from thenceforward firmly believed that his nephew would become a very great man.

of his family still resident there, he, as soon as he had completed his arrangements, continued his march to Poonah, determined, as soon as he should arrive within the distance of a forced march, to advance with the cavalry alone, for the protection of the place.

Having now received intelligence that, on the 18th of April, Amrut Rao was still in the vicinity of Poonah, and that he had removed the Peishwah's family to the fortress of Saoghur, preparatory to the destruction of the city, General Wellesley marched on the 19th of April, at night, over a most rugged country, and through a very difficult pass, called the Little Bhoorghaut, about forty miles from Poonah, and arrived there on the 20th, at the head of his cavalry, having marched a total distance of about sixty miles in thirty-two hours.

Alarmed by the rapidity of the march of the British troops, Amrut Rao, as soon as he heard of their approach on the morning of the 20th, retired with precipitation, not having time to put his plans in execution for the destruction of the place. Thus, by an almost unexampled rapidity of march, General Wellesley had the satisfaction of saving the capital from the ruin which threatened it, and of restoring it soon after to its lawful monarch.

Scindiah* was now in arms, with the professed inten-

* Scindiah was originally a Rajpoot, born in the village of Chemarconda, near Poonah. His father subsisted for some time by the cultivation of some lands; but, being dissatisfied with the profession of a husbandman, went and entered into the cavalry of Bajee Rao, then a mere trooper, hiring himself and men to those who would pay him best. Bajee, finding him wise, intelligent, and discreet, took him from his humble station; and his ingenuity and sagacity soon obtained him the command of a small troop, from which he rose to consequence. When the Mogul empire was torn by intestine commotions, Bajee Rao was detached with a large army into the various districts of Malwah, &c. to dispossess the Emperor's officers, and to usurp the government; which he faithfully executed, making the servants of the Emperor tributary, and arranging the whole administration for his employer, the Rajah Saho. On this occasion, Ranojee (Scindiah's father) having performed several very gallant exploits, he was exalted to a high command, and rewarded with large grants of land. Dying soon after, he left two legitimate sons, and two illegitimate, the youngest of whom was Mha Rajah Scindiah; who, on the death of his three brothers, during various disturbances, inherited the paternal estates, and aimed at sovereignty in the dominion of the Mogul, his master.

tion of opposing Holkár: but the Governor-General had every reason to believe that a formidable confederacy existed between these chiefs and the Rajah of Berar. Accordingly, he appointed his brother, Major-General Wellesley, with full powers, to negotiate with them, and to conclude any arrangements he might find it necessary to adopt, either for the final settlement of a lasting peace, or for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Major-General, on the 18th of July, addressed a letter to the British resident, directing him to state, to both Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, the anxiety with which the British government desired the preservation of peace; and also to observe, that the only proof which could be accepted of the sincerity of their amicable professions was, the immediate disbanding of their armies, and their return from the Nizam's frontier to their own capitals: and the resident had further orders to say, that if these terms were not complied with, he had orders to quit Scindiah's camp without delay.

The substance of their answer implied, that they would retire from the position they occupied, provided, at the same time, the British army commenced its march to its usual stations; and that as soon as it should arrive at its different destinations, *viz.* Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, that then the Mahratta confederates would encamp the united armies of Scindiah and the Berar Rajah at Boorhampore, a city belonging to Scindiah, and *fifty* miles only from the Nizam's frontier.

Major-General Wellesley, having received intelligence of this answer, was determined to commence hostilities without delay; but was prevented from moving by a very heavy rain, which had lasted three days, and rendered the road from Walkee to Ahmednaghur totally impassable. On the 7th of August, it cleared up so much as to permit him to commence his march the next day; on which morning he had dispatched a messenger to the Kellahdar of Ahmednaghur, requiring him to surrender his fort.

On his arrival in the vicinity of the *Pettah* (or town protected by the fortress), General Wellesley offered protection to the inhabitants; but it was refused, in consequence of the place being in the possession of a body of Arabs, supported by a battalion of Scindiah's native in-

fantry, and a body of horse, encamped in an open space between the fort and the Pettah. He immediately determined to storm the latter place; which was soon carried, although very obstinately defended.

The General having now reconnoitred the ground in the vicinity of the fort, seized a position within four hundred yards of it, on which he constructed a battery for four guns, to take off the defences on the side on which the principal attack was to be made. This battery was served so well, that in a very short time a person was sent out to treat for a capitulation. General Wellesley immediately replied, that he would not cease firing, until the fort was either taken or surrendered. On the morning of the 11th, therefore, the Kellahdar, or commander of the fort, sent out two Vakeels to propose the surrender, on condition that he should be allowed to depart with the garrison, and to have private property secured; to which the General consented. On the morning of the 12th, the Kellahdar marched out of the fort, which was immediately taken possession of by the British.

The acquisition of this fort was of great consequence, not only as it covered Poonah, but serving also as a point of support to all the General's future operations in the northern districts.

Having left a sufficient garrison in the fort, the General advanced to the Godavery river; which having crossed, and arrived at Aurungabad on the 29th of August, he received intelligence that Dowlah Rao Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had, on the 24th, entered the territories of the Nizam, by the Adjuntee Ghaut, with a large body of horse.

It appears they had passed between Colonel Stevenson's corps (which had moved to the eastward, towards the Badowley Ghaut) and Aurungabad, and had proceeded as far as Jalnapoor, a small fort, the capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of that city; but, hearing of the arrival of the British, they moved off to the south-east, with the ostensible intention of crossing the Godavery, and marching upon Hyderabad.

In consequence of this, the Major-General immediately marched to the left bank of the Godavery, and
continued

continued to the eastward by that route. The enemy, thus checked in their operation to the southward, immediately returned to the northward of Jalnapoor. In the mean time, on the 1st of September, Colonel Stevenson returned from the eastward, and on the 2d attacked and carried the fort of Jalnapoor.

The rapidity of these movements of General Wellesley had the effect of preserving the territories of the British allies from plunder. The rebel chiefs, finding their designs baffled by the energy and promptitude of the British, determined to alter their plan of operations. Accordingly, they crossed over to the northward, toward the Adjuttee pass, where they were reinforced by a detachment of regular infantry, under the command of Messieurs Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a numerous and well-equipped train of artillery; the whole of which force was now collected about Bokerdum, and between that place and Jaffierabad.

General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson having joined on the 21st of September, near Budnapoor, it was arranged that the two divisions should move forward separately towards the enemy, and attack them on the morning of the 24th. The disposition which the confederates had evinced of avoiding a general action, and the necessity of making a vigorous effort against their main force, afforded no other means than the one now adopted.

Having arrived at Naulniah on the 23d, and there received a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp, at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which he had intended to encamp, the opportunity appeared favourable for an attack: having, therefore, provided for the security of his baggage and stores at Naulniah, he marched against the enemy.

The confederates were found encamped between and along two rivers, the Kaitna and the Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and are impassable for guns except at places close to the villages. The enemy's right, consisting entirely of cavalry, was posted in the vicinity of Bokerdun, and extended to their line of infantry, which

was encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye. The British army had already marched fourteen miles to Naulniah; and the distance from that place to the enemy's camp being six miles, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before the British troops came in sight of the enemy.

Although the British had arrived in front of the enemy's right, yet the General determined, on reconnoitring the ground, to commence his attack on the left, where the guns and infantry were posted. Accordingly he marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of British infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Peishwah's and the Mysore cavalry on the right flank; a manœuvre dictated by a consideration that a defeat of their infantry was most likely to be effectual.

The British army now advanced, and the river Kaitna was passed at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank: when the General, with quick precision, formed the infantry immediately into two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and a *nullah*, or dry ravine, running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Mysore allied cavalry he posted on the ground beyond the Kaitna, and on the left flank, so that they might keep in check a large body of the hostile cavalry, which had followed the right of the British line of march from the right of the enemy's position. The first line of the British army consisted of the advanced picquets to the right, two battalions of Sepoys, and the 78th regiment; the second line was formed by the 74th regiment, and two battalions of sepoy; and the third consisted of the 19th dragoons, with three regiments of native cavalry.

With this small force, consisting of no more than 1200 cavalry (European and native), 1300 European infantry and artillery, and 200 sepoy, in all about 4500, (for Colonel Stevenson, who had marched with his detachment by a different route, had not joined), the General feared not to encounter the hosts opposed to him.

The enemy's force consisted of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounting to 10,500 men, (exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry, and the irregulars of Scindiah), commanded by European officers, having a well-equipped

equipped train of artillery, exceeding one hundred guns in number, and some very large bodies of cavalry, amounting to a number between 30 and 40,000 men.

As soon as the British troops advanced to the Kaitna, the enemy commenced a distant cannonade; but, perceiving that an attack was threatened on his left, Scindiah changed his position with great steadiness. The British now advanced to the attack, under a most tremendous fire of nearly 150 pieces of cannon. The English artillery, in their turn, opened upon the enemy, at an interval of about 100 yards; but was soon rendered incapable of advancing, from the number of bullocks and men that had fallen. This induced General Wellesley to abandon his guns, and try the event of a closer combat. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his whole line, and placing the British cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell of the 19th light dragoons, to cover his right, he advanced with an intrepidity and boldness which completely dismayed the Mahrattas. Notwithstanding his numerous artillery, the enemy found himself unequal to withstand this charge, and was quickly compelled to retire upon his second line, posted in front of the Juah river. Here the 74th regiment, which covered the right of the British line, having suffered severely by the enemy's cannon, was charged by a body of Mahratta cavalry; but the British cavalry posted on the right, having repulsed them, charged in their turn, with such resistless impetuosity, that several of the enemy's battalions were driven into the Juah with immense slaughter. The enemy's line now gave way in all directions, and was pursued by Colonel Maxwell at the head of the British cavalry across the Juah river, beyond which they were cut down in great numbers. Several of the enemy's guns, having been unavoidably left in the rear during the heat of the action, were, at this moment, turned upon the British troops in advance by the perfidious Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, and were passed unmolested by the English soldiers. This circumstance encouraged some of the enemy's regular infantry battalions, that had retired in rather better order, to face about and commence a second action, which, being maintained for a short time with great fury, made the fortune of the day again doubtful.

General

General Wellesley, however, with his usual gallantry, leading on the 78th regiment, and 7th battalion of Sepoys, compelled those parties, who had seized the guns, to surrender, though not without some further loss and considerable personal danger to himself, having his horse shot under him; while the gallant Colonel Maxwell finished the destruction of the enemy, by charging with the 19th light dragoons the battalions that had rallied, which he entirely broke and dispersed, but unfortunately fell himself in the performance of this duty. These last attacks proved decisive; the Mahrattas fled in all directions; their dead, amounting to 1200, covered the field, and their wounded strewed the adjoining country for miles. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, the whole camp-equipage of the enemy, all their bullocks and camels, and a vast quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

The Marquis of Wellesley, in speaking of this glorious battle, observed, that, during the whole of the action, the conduct of Major-General Wellesley united a degree of ability, prudence, and dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed. It is, indeed, impossible to bestow any commendation superior to the skill, magnanimity, promptitude, and judgment, which he displayed on this memorable occasion: nor can any instance be adduced from the annals of our military glory, of more exemplary order, firmness, discipline, and alacrity, than was manifested by the British troops in every stage of this arduous contest, leading to the splendid VICTORY OF ASSYE. The whole line, led by the General in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without its guns, against a most severe and destructive fire of round and grape, until within a very short distance of the enemy's line, when the gallant few obliged them at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding their superior numbers, to abandon their artillery, and finally to relinquish the field of battle, after a brave resistance on the part of Scindiah's infantry for upwards of three hours.

It was not until the evening of the 24th that Colonel Stevenson was able to join General Wellesley, having been prevented by several impediments from prosecuting his march so rapidly as was expected. He was immediately detached in pursuit of the flying enemy.

After

After an ineffectual attempt at a treaty, which was considered as a feint to gain time, the enemy collected his broken army, and moved along the Taptee river, with the intention of proceeding to the southward by the road which leads to Poonah. General Wellesley therefore determined to remain to the southward, in order to watch their movements; and he detached Colonel Stevenson for the attack on Boorhanpour, which fell soon after.

General Wellesley proceeded up the Ghaut with the British army on the 25th October, and on the 29th passed Aurungabad. At this time the Rajah of Berar had advanced to the eastward, and was at Lakeegaun, about twenty miles north from Pultrin. On the arrival of the British troops at Aurungabad, the Rajah moved with great rapidity towards his own dominions. During these movements, various conferences were held with Scindiah's ambassador; and a cessation of arms in the Dekan was agreed upon, on the 23d of November. But, the conditions not being fulfilled on the part of Scindiah, on the 28th of November the British troops came up with a considerable body of his regular cavalry, together with the greater part of the Berar infantry; and General Wellesley was determined to attack them, notwithstanding the remonstrances and protestations of Scindiah's Vakeel. He immediately therefore moved forward to Parterley, when he was joined by Colonel Stevenson; the enemy having previously retired from that spot, their rear being discernible from a lofty tower in the vicinity. General Wellesley had intended to postpone the pursuit of the enemy until the evening, on account of the excessive heat of the day, and the fatigue of his men. But he had scarcely halted, when a large body of the enemy's horse was seen in front; and, soon after, the whole of their army was distinctly perceived, formed in a long line of five miles, on the plains of Argaum.

General Wellesley finding the enemy was determined to give battle, advanced with his whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line, the British cavalry leading. Upon the near advance of the army towards the enemy, General Wellesley disposed it in two lines, the first consisting of the infantry, and the second the cavalry; the right wing was advanced

in order to press on the enemy, whilst the left was supported by the Mysore horse. No sooner had the British come pretty close, than they were attacked by a large body of Persian troops, but this corps, after a most desperate conflict was totally destroyed; at the same time, a charge of Scindiah's cavalry was repulsed, with great loss, by the first battalion of the 6th. The whole line of the enemy then gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition, in the hands of the victors. General Wellesley immediately advanced on Gawilghur in order to commence operations against that place; this was an enterprise of great difficulty, and such as is seldom witnessed. In this service General Wellesley's army took a considerable share, although his principal object was only to cover the operations.

On the 12th at night, Colonel Stevenson's detachment opened two batteries, for brass and iron guns, to breach the outer fort and the third wall; and another to clear and destroy the defences on the point of attack. A fourth battery was erected by General Wellesley's own division, on the mountain, under the southern gate, for the purpose of effecting a breach in the wall near that gate, or at least to divert and distract the attention of the garrison.

On the night of the 16th, the breaches of the outer wall of the fort were judged practicable; and a storming party was ordered for the attack, at ten o'clock on the following morning, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny. At the same time, two attacks were to be made from the southward: one on the south gate, by a strong detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace; and the other on the gate of the north-west, by a similar force under Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers. These latter dispositions were principally intended as demonstrations, and to draw the enemy's attention from the real point of attack.

At the appointed hour, the three parties moved forward: that, under Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers reached the north-west gate just as the enemy were attempting to escape through it from the bayonets of the assailing party under Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny: a dreadful slaughter now ensued, and Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers entered the fort without any difficulty. The wall in the inner

inner fort, in which no breach had been made, was still to be carried: a place was found, at which it was possible to escalate the wall; and here Captain Campbell, with the light infantry of the 9th, fixed the ladders, scaled the wall, and immediately opened the gate to the storming party, who quickly became masters of the place.

These continued successes of the English under General Wellesley, as well as the successful operations of General Lake on the north, at length compelled the Rajah of Berar to conclude a treaty of peace with the English, which was signed in his camp at Dergaum. In this treaty, he renounced all adherence to the confederacy against the East India Company; he also ceded to that Company, the provinces of Cuttack and Balasore; and finally, engaged never to keep in his service the subjects of any state at war with England.

Scindiah likewise, finding no chance of success against the English, being left without an ally, and having exhausted all his resources, sent an ambassador to General Wellesley, and sued for peace; which was granted on the 30th of December, highly favourable to the interests of the company.

General Wellesley, in the whole of this contest, proved to the world that he possessed in an eminent degree those talents for council, as well as for the field, which cannot, without the greatest disadvantage, be separated. The Mahratta war being thus brought to a fortunate conclusion, the General found the reward of his victories in the gratitude and love of his countrymen. A sword, valued at £1000, was presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Thanks were voted to him by both Houses of Parliament; and his Sovereign honoured him with the insignia of the first military order in Europe, by creating him a Knight of the Bath.

In the month of February 1804, the principal officers of his army agreed to present him with a vase of gold, worth 2000 guineas, of superior workmanship, with an inscription recording the battle of Assye.

The Major-General proceeded from Bombay, after the ratification of the various treaties, accompanied by the ambassadors from Scindiah, and by some of the native chiefs. Here he was received not only with all the mili-

tary honours due to his high station, but with all the respect which the inhabitants in general could shew him for his eminent services. Addresses of the most respectful and flattering nature were presented to him; and nothing omitted, which could testify the high sense entertained of his merit, by all ranks and distinctions in the settlement.

From this period, until his departure from India, in the early part of the year 1805, he continued to receive the most flattering testimonies of the public favour. The inhabitants of Seringapatam in particular, in their address, in July 1804, declared, that they had reposed for five years under the shadow of his auspicious protection; that even during his absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, his care for their prosperity had been extended to them in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied his mind; and that they were preparing, in their several casts, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who had brought him back in safety: and they concluded with this remarkable and memorable prayer—"and when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all casts and all nations, deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness!"

It is highly pleasing to us to record these manifestations of the public gratitude, proceeding not only from his own countrymen, but from all descriptions of inhabitants of the East Indies. It proves, that whilst his great genius was conferring the most substantial benefits upon his country, he was not unmindful, even amidst the horrors of war and its attendant miseries, of the sacred duties of humanity.

His Grace, now Sir Arthur Wellesley, having embarked with his brother the Marquis of Wellesley, arrived in England in the latter end of the year 1805. Soon after which, he accompanied Lord Cathcart in the expedition to Hanover, in command of a brigade; but the expedition was obliged to return without accomplishing any thing. Soon after his return from Hanover, his Grace, for a short period, had a command upon one of the coast districts; and then his discipline and management were as creditable to his military character as a tactician, as his general deportment towards the officers under

under his command was to his reputation as a soldier and a gentleman.

On the death of the Marquis Cornwallis, then Colonel of the 33d regiment, his Grace was named to succeed him, having been its Lieutenant-Colonel thirteen years, and present with it for almost the whole of that time, during a period of active service.

During the short administration of Lord Grenville, we find his Grace representing an Irish borough in the House of Commons. In this new situation he shewed equal abilities with those he had displayed in the field, particularly in vindication of his brother, against the charges that were brought against him by Mr. Paull. The principal of these were, that the Noble Marquis, during his government in India, had applied a million and a half of money to purposes not sanctioned by the East India Company; that he had expended £25,000 per annum illegally, to purposes of ostentation and splendid profusion, and which ought to have come out of his own salary. In the debates of the 22d of April, on this question, we find his Grace most ably vindicating his brother's conduct. He observed, that though he did not rise to object to the printing of the first charge brought forward by Mr. Paull, yet he could not help saying a few words upon the manner in which the Noble Marquis had been frequently held up as a public delinquent. The House would recollect how often the Noble Marquis had been thanked by the House, and by the Court of Directors, for those very measures which were now brought forward as matters of charge. He said, that the accuser had not laid any ground for his charge, much less had he produced any evidence in support of it. The service in which he had himself been employed enabled him to say there was no foundation whatever for some of them. With respect to others, they were either totally misrepresented or misstated. It was true, that an Indian Director had said that he had in his pocket a paper which would prove many of them. If so, why did he not move for the production of that paper? If the Honourable Gentleman had really any such paper in his pocket, and could produce it, he was ready to meet it. The Honourable Director had stated, that the letter which had been previously moved for contained proofs of many of the accusatory statements:

but this he begged to dispute; the letter contained no such proofs. It might, indeed, contain references to documents relating to the allegations in the charge, but that would not amount to a proof. He confessed, that he could easily conceive the delicacy of situation into which the House had been brought by the course that had been adopted. He could conceive that it might be a question with the House, whether in justice it could receive a charge, without any proof being offered in support of it. He felt it also due to justice that some inquiry should be made. On this ground it was that he supported the motion of the Right Honourable Secretary (Mr. Fox) to adjourn the consideration of the subject; he did not wish to press the House to any precipitate judgment, but he hoped they would consider the feelings of his noble relative, and come to such decision as would lead to a speedy and full discussion of the whole case.

When the adjourned debate was resumed, on the 28th of April, and Mr. Paull, complaining of want of papers, wished to induce the House to adopt the charges in the absence of all evidence whatever, his Grace said, that he believed the practice of parliament was, that the evidence should precede the charges, and he saw no necessity for deviating from that rule; though he admitted, every case ought to stand on its own merits. The charge, he said, as brought against his noble relative, was for squandering the money of the India Company in unnecessary purposes of personal splendour; but the papers produced applied to charges of which no notice had as yet been given.

In noticing some insinuations against himself, he said, that what he did in India was in obedience to the orders he had received: and for the manner of that obedience, and its immediate result, he was ready to answer either to that House, or to any other tribunal in the realm.

On the 8th of May he again came forward, and most spiritedly repelled the unfounded and unjust charge of murder, which Mr. Paull, without any proof whatever, had brought against his noble relative. It indeed became a matter of the most serious importance to put this affair in its proper point of view. He accordingly explained, that the zemindars of the country which was ceded to the company, instead of paying their tribute in
a regular

a regular manner, had combined to resist it, and had taken up arms for that purpose: it became, therefore, necessary to bring them to obedience. The commander-in-chief, having placed himself at the head of the Bengal army, attacked them in their forts: the consequence of which was, that a few lives were lost, and some blood spilt; and this was what his enemies had chosen to construe into the foul crime of murder. But the House would judge how far it was proper to arraign with so serious a charge a great public officer, who was bound by the very nature of his office to enforce those laws of which he was appointed the guardian, and who would have been guilty of a great dereliction of duty, had he acted otherwise.

On the 10th of July, he made another excellent speech in defence of his brother's administration, and on the financial affairs of India generally; in which he proved, that the revenues of that country had increased between six and seven millions annually during his brother's government, and that the commerce of India had so much improved as to be capable of supplying the demand for bullion in the China market.

Soon after his return from India, his Grace married the Honourable Miss Pakenham, daughter of the late Lord Longford, and sister to the present Earl.

Early in 1807, his Grace was appointed to the office of chief secretary for Ireland, under the Duke of Richmond, and at the same time he was sworn in a Member of the Privy Council.

We now come to the memorable expedition against Copenhagen, in which his Grace, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, bore a conspicuous part, having the command of a division under Lord Cathcart.

Soon after the treaty of Tilsit, the government of Great Britain received the most positive information, that Buonaparte intended to compel the Danes to join with their navy in his attempt to invade England; a fact, which, though denied at the time, has since been proved to be true. Acting upon this conviction, it was determined to send out a powerful military and naval force, in order to seize upon the Danish navy, and thereby frustrate the enemy's plans. Accordingly a force of twenty-seven sail of the line, and 20,000 men, were sent on this expedition;

expedition; and such was the secrecy observed, that the whole was at sea, before any knowledge of its force or destination was known to the country.

The command of the land forces was given to Lord Cathcart; and the navy was entrusted to Admiral Lord Gambier. Immediately on the expedition appearing off the Island of Zealand, Lord Cathcart issued a proclamation to the Danes; in which he declared, that the only object of the expedition was self-defence; that it was intended merely to require the delivering up of the Danish navy as a deposit; and that the most solemn pledge would be given, that every ship should be hereafter restored in the same condition as they then were; that the inhabitants of Zealand should be treated by his Majesty's troops, while on shore, with the greatest friendship, the severest discipline should be observed, and persons and property held most sacred; and, finally, he observed, that all the horrors of war that might ensue upon the refusal of these terms, would be imputed to those who had advised an ineffectual resistance to so large a force.

As it could not be supposed that the Danes would yield up their navy without being forced to it, and that their very honour required that they should, however fruitless it might be, oppose every attempt for that purpose, the operations against them immediately commenced; and, on the 18th of August, the reserve of the army landed at five in the morning with the ordnance of a light brigade, and occupied the heights of Hellerup, before Copenhagen; and in the course of the day additional troops were landed. In the evening, the army marched by their left in three columns, and lay upon their arms in advance. At day-break the next morning, the whole army marched in three columns to invest the town, and every arrangement was made for that purpose in the course of the day. About noon, hostilities actually commenced by the picquets towards the left being attacked, whilst the Danish gun-boats rowing out of the harbour cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round shot.

The picquets soon drove in and pursued the enemy, and resumed their posts, being supported by the advance of part of the line; and the British gun-brigs and bombs, having

having been towed as near the harbour as they could be, opened a fire, though at a considerable distance, upon the Danish gun-boats, forcing them, after a long and heavy cannonade, to retire into the harbour.

The next day, the attacks of the gun-boats were renewed upon the light British vessels in advance; but a brigade of artillery on shore being brought to enfilade them, they were forced to retire.

At three in the morning of the 24th, the army was under arms. The centre advanced its position to the height near the road which runs in a direction parallel to the defences of Copenhagen, on to Fredericsburg, occupying that road, and some parts beyond it. The guards at the same time occupied the suburbs on that side, flanked by a detachment of the 79th. All the picquets of the garrison now fell back to the lake or inundations in front of the place, the British picquets occupying their ground; and in the afternoon, the garrison having shewed itself on all the avenues leading from the town, as if with a design either to recover ground or to burn the suburbs, the different corps in advance drove them in on all sides, and at the same time seized all the suburbs on the north bank of the lakes, some of which were only 400 yards distant from the ramparts.

During these operations against Copenhagen, General Castenschiold had formed a small army in the interior, consisting of three or four battalions of regular troops, besides a number of armed peasantry. Against this force Sir Arthur Wellesley was dispatched, having under him the reserve of the army, eight squadrons of cavalry and horse-artillery under Major-General Linsingen, the 6th battalion of the line, the King's German legion, and a light brigade of artillery. He immediately marched to Roskild Kroe, and on the 27th advanced in two divisions to attack the enemy in front and rear at Koenerup; but, finding that Castenschiold had moved up towards Kioge, he took a position to cover the besieging army. On the evening of the 27th, he placed Colonel Redan with a force at Vallensbæk; and on the 28th, General Linsingen marched towards Roschild.

General Castenschiold still remaining at Kioge, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack him in that position. Accordingly he ordered General Linsingen to cross

cross the Kioge rivulet at Little Sellyas, and turn the Danish left flank; whilst he himself moved along the sea road towards Kioge, and attacked in front.

Both divisions having broken up in the morning, Sir Arthur Wellesley, as he approached Kioge, found the enemy in force on the north side of the town and rivulet. Their force consisted of three or four battalions of the line, with cavalry on both flanks, and a large body beyond the town and rivulet. Sir Arthur Wellesley formed his infantry in one line, with the left to the sea, having the two squadrons of hussars upon the right. Observing some appearance of a movement by the enemy to their left, and not having had any communication with General Linsingen, and consequently not knowing whether he had passed the rivulet as agreed upon, he immediately ordered the attack to be made *en echelon* of battalions from the left; the whole being covered by the first battalion of the 95th regiment, and by a well-directed fire from the artillery. These dispositions soon compelled the enemy to retire to an entrenchment in front of a camp on the north side of the Kioge. This entrenchment was very soon carried, and the enemy was forced to retire into the town. At this moment, Major-General Oshoken, the second in command of the Danish force, who had joined the enemy on the preceding evening with four battalions, attempted to make a stand in the village of Herfolge; but he was attacked so briskly by the hussars and a small detachment of the 1st and 95th, that he was compelled to surrender, along with Count Wedel Jerisburg and several other officers, and about 400 men. In the whole of this affair, it appears that the Danes lost 60 officers, 1500 men, and 14 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of powder and ammunition.

We now return to the siege of Copenhagen, which was carried on with great vigour. On the 30th, the batteries were nearly finished, and two-thirds of the ordnance mounted. On the 31st, the enemy made a sortie, but were repulsed with some loss.

On the 1st of September, the mortar batteries being nearly ready, the city was summoned to surrender, but refused. On the 2d, a most tremendous fire was opened upon the town, which set it on fire in several places. This was continued with little intermission until the evening

evening of the 5th, when a letter was sent by the Danish General to propose an armistice for twenty-four hours; but, as it was supposed he only wished to gain time, it was not listened to. The English General, however, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Murray to say, that no capitulation would be entered into that had not the surrender of the fleet for its basis. This, on the 6th of September, being admitted on the part of the Danes, Lord Cathcart sent for Sir Arthur Wellesley from his command in the country, who, with Sir Home Popham and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, were appointed to prepare and conclude the capitulation. They accordingly proceeded to business: and shortly after, the ratification being exchanged, Lieutenant-Colonel Burrard took possession of the gates at four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 7th of September.

The grenadiers, with detachments from all the other corps of cavalry and infantry, under Colonel Cameron of the 79th regiment, with two brigades of artillery, marched into the citadel; while Major-General Spencer, having embarked his brigade, crossed over in boats, and landed in the Dock Yard, where he took possession of the line-of-battle ships, and of the arsenal.

The city being in a state of great ferment, on account of the unexpected attack, it was deemed imprudent to quarter any of the troops in it, and the officers and soldiers were forbidden to enter it for some days.

The Danish navy delivered up, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks. In the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit this fleet for sea; and though all the men of war, both English and those captured, were laden with those stores, there still remained enough to fill 92 sail of transports, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand tons.

The expedition to Copenhagen being ended, the services of those engaged in it were so much appreciated, that thanks were voted by both Houses of Parliament. The thanks of the House of Commons to Sir Arthur Wellesley, were communicated to him by the Speaker in his place in the House; to which Sir Arthur, addressing himself to the Speaker, modestly replied—

“ Mr. Speaker—I consider myself fortunate that I was employed by his Majesty in a service which this House

has considered of such importance, as to have marked with its approbation the conduct of those officers and troops who have performed it. The honour which this House has conferred upon my honourable friends and myself is justly considered by the officers of the navy and army as the highest which this country can confer; it is the object of the ambition of all who are employed in his Majesty's service; and to obtain it has been the motive of many of those acts of valour and good conduct, which have tended so eminently to the glory, and have advanced the prosperity and advantage, of this country. I can assure the House, that I am most sensible of the great honour which they have done me, and I beg leave to return you thanks, &c. &c. &c."

From this time until the breaking out of the war in Spain, nothing occurred to call into action the military talents of his Grace: but his active mind found abundance of employment in his official duties; and we find him taking a considerable share in the debates in the House of Commons, on Irish affairs in particular.

We have now gone through with the events of his Grace's life previous to his campaigns in Spain and Portugal, and have, we trust, faithfully detailed every occurrence in which our illustrious subject was engaged. The services he had already performed for his country were of no ordinary description; and had he done nothing more, they alone would have been sufficient to entitle him to the gratitude of the present age, and the admiration of posterity. If such then had been the splendid services of his Grace previous to his brilliant career in the Spanish Peninsula; how shall we speak, or how duly appreciate the great and splendid achievements which he afterwards performed on that great theatre of action, and the great benefits he conferred upon his country and the world, by his glorious successes.

We have already, in the early part of his Grace's memoirs, taken a short view of the affairs of Spain, which we brought down to the abdication of the throne by Charles and Ferdinand, in favour of Buonaparte. It will now be necessary to resume our account of these transactions, as a proper introduction, and to render more intelligible the subsequent events in which his Grace bore so conspicuous a part.

Buonaparte,

Buonaparte, as we have already seen, having got possession of the Spanish crown, caused their late monarch Charles, to issue a royal edict, dated at Bayonne, the 4th of May, by which Murat, the Grand-Duke of Berg, was constituted Lieutenant-General and Viceroy of the kingdom, and the Council of Castille and the captains-general and governors-general of provinces were directed to obey his orders. This decree may be considered not only as a preparatory measure, but an actual transference of all power, civil and military, to the French. By the same edict, also, Murat was made president of the junta of government.

On the 6th of May, Murat issued a proclamation to the Spaniards, in which he informed them, that the fate of Spain was under the deliberation of their own princes, in conjunction with the great Emperor Napoleon; and on the 19th, he issued another for the convening of the Notables, to be assembled at Bayonne, for the purpose of settling some plan for the future happiness of Spain. On the 25th of May, Buonaparte also issued a proclamation, in which he insinuated to the Spaniards, that he had received a commission from Heaven to reform their government, and to make them again what they had been before—a great, a glorious, and happy nation. “Your princes,” said he, “have ceded to me their rights to the crown of Spain. Your nation is old; my mission is to restore its youth.” We are not surprised at such language from Buonaparte to Turks, Arabs, and Mussulmen, but it is hardly credible he should use such language to the Spaniards.

The public mind was now thought to be sufficiently prepared for the reception of an imperial decree from Buonaparte, as the rightful owner of the crown. This decree ordered, that the assembly of Notables, which had been already summoned by the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne, the deputies, amongst other instructions, were required to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom. The Lieutenant-General, the Ministers, the Council of State, the Council of Castille, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities, were confirmed; and justice was to be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner, as usual.

The Junta being now assembled at Bayonne, the few traitors who composed it were appointed to meet on the 7th of July, for the acceptance of the new constitution. In the chamber where they sat, were erected a magnificent throne, and a richly decorated altar, the service of which was performed by the Archbishop of Burgos. Joseph Buonaparte, to whom Napoleon had now transferred the crown, being seated on the throne, delivered a speech to the deputies. "Assembled," said Joseph, "in consequence of one of the events to which all nations in their turn are subject, and in pursuance of the dispositions of the Emperor Napoleon, our illustrious brother, your sentiments have been those of his age. The result of these sentiments will be consolidated into the constitutional act which will be forthwith read to you; it will preserve Spain from many tedious broils, which were easily to be foreseen from the disquietude with which the nation had been long agitated." The act of constitution was then read over; and the members of the Junta unanimously declared their acceptance of it. This farce, however, of transferring the crown from its rightful owners to the family of Buonaparte, by means of the Spanish representatives, could not blind the eyes of the nation. Nor were the Spaniards to be misled by the proclamations of their own princes, who, being prisoners in the hands of Buonaparte, were induced to sign any thing to preserve their lives. Accordingly, even as early as the month of May, as if by a miracle, the people in all parts of Spain rose upon their oppressors; deputies from different parts were sent to implore the aid and assistance of Great Britain; and the whole population, as if moved by one indignant soul into an attitude of defence and defiance, breathed eternal war against their insolent and intolerable oppressors. The Portuguese also, following the example of the Spaniards, and animated by the presence of the English, every where rose against the French. Previous to the English taking an active part in these passing scenes, events of the utmost importance followed each other in succession. In Andalusia, the battle of Baylen, and the subsequent surrender of the French army under Dupont, inspired the Patriots with such vigour, that the French veterans were defeated in almost every affair, by almost unarmed, and certainly undisciplined citizens.

From

From Valencia, also, General Moncey was driven with great loss; but at the siege of Saragossa* the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, the very women taking a part in the military operations. At Gerona, also, the monks exchanged their profession for that of arms; and General Duhesme, who had laid siege to this place, was repulsed with great loss. Thus, although the battles of Cabezon and Medina del Rio Seco were unfortunate to the Spaniards, yet the general aspect of their affairs was such, that King Joseph found it necessary to evacuate Madrid; which was done on the 29th of July. These events, together with the progress of the insurrection in Portugal, induced the English government to take a more active part in the assistance of the Spaniards. They accordingly sent the army under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which was first intended for Portugal, and where it afterwards landed, to the assistance of the Spaniards. This army, consisting of about 10,000 men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th.

A few days before his arrival at this port, the battle of Rio Seco had taken place; and the Spaniards, unable to retain their positions, were then retreating fast in different directions. Cuesta was proceeding with one

* Without entering minutely into the details of the Spanish exertions, we may notice a proof of the general enthusiasm on the 15th of June, during the battle of Saragossa. This was of the most desperate description. The first assault of the French produced a sanguinary conflict of two hours' duration; which was still of doubtful issue, when the brave patriots became furious, and, with irresistible impetuosity, fell upon their opponents, and gave no quarter to any that fell into their power. The result was a complete and signal defeat of the French army. The enemy having been reinforced, renewed the attack on the 30th; and the action which ensued continued until the 2d of July, when they were again defeated with immense slaughter. Several thousand women followed the brave patriots to battle, continually cheering their husbands, sons, and brothers, and uttering sentiments of the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the infamous oppressors of their country. They carried with them flaggons of wine, with which they occasionally refreshed the fatigued patriots. Fearless of death, many of them shared the perils of the conflict with their heroic countrymen; and to the eternal disgrace of the enemy be it related, five of these virtuous heroines, to whom the generosity of the ancients would have paid the most devout respect, were most cruelly put to death by the savage ruffians into whose power they had unfortunately fallen.

division to Salamanca; and Blake, with another, was pushing on for the mountains of Asturias.

Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately, according to the spirit of his instructions, and influenced by the intelligence he received, offered the assistance of the force under his command to the Junta of Galicia. The Junta replied, that they did not want men; and that they required nothing from the British government but money, arms, and ammunition. At the same time, they expressed their confident expectation, that the British army might be of great service to the general cause, if it could be employed in driving the French out of Lisbon. It was also stated, that the French were still in force in the north of Portugal, not very distant from Galicia; and therefore against them, in the first place, Sir Arthur might commence an attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Galicia, if the insurrection at Oporto still existed, or could be revived when he reached that city.

Sir Arthur accordingly sailed to Oporto, where he was informed by the bishop, who then acted as governor, that the Portuguese force in the north was fully sufficient to repel any probable attack of the French. In order now to ascertain *where* his forces might be of assistance, Sir Arthur left his army at Oporto, and proceeded off Lisbon, for the purpose of having a conference with the English admiral, Sir Charles Cotton; and with him he consulted on the practicability of forcing the entrance of the river Tagus, and making an attack upon Lisbon. The business was decided, however, immediately, by his receiving a letter from General Spencer, who was then off Cadiz with about 6000 men. It had been intended that this force should co-operate with the Spanish army under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont in Andalusia, or else in conjunction with Sir Arthur Wellesley's army; and as the Seville Junta thought the aid of the British totally unnecessary for the former service, and Sir Arthur was very judiciously of opinion that little could be expected from either his own force or the smaller one of General Spencer, singly considered, he immediately sent orders to the latter officer to join him, in order to proceed upon a plan of operation in Portugal preconcerted with the naval commander. He therefore joined

joined his own division; and, having procured all the information possible respecting the actual numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to make a landing in Mondego bay, to the northward of Lisbon, where, although an open bay, yet he trusted he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army in order of service without any immediate opposition from the enemy, and perhaps even be assisted and supported by the Portuguese troops, which had already assembled and advanced towards Coimbra.

Whilst preparing for these measures, Sir Arthur received dispatches from the British government, informing him, that 5000 men, under General Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that 12,000 more, under Sir John Moore, would speedily be sent for the same purpose. Along with this he received information from the shore that Dupont had surrendered, and that the army of Junot was considerably weakened by the absolute necessity of detaching 6000 troops under General Loison to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal. This information induced Sir Arthur Wellesley to disembark his troops without delay. Soon after the disembarkation was effected, the corps under General Spencer also landed. On the 9th of August the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. On the 12th the army reached Leyria, which had lately been occupied by the French, but who had retreated to Ahobaca on their approach, having first plundered the town, and committed the greatest atrocities. On the 15th he arrived at Caldos, when the advanced guard came up with a party of the enemy at Obidos, where a slight action took place, occasioned by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted; and, on the 17th, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack the enemy in his position of Roleia.

Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and ancient Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's picquet had been driven on the 15th; from which time they had posts in
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the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of their army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on their rear.

From the information which Sir Arthur received, he had reason to believe that the enemy's force consisted of at least 6000 men, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and he also understood that General Loison, who was at Rio Major, would join General Laborde by his right in the night of the 16th. The plan of attack was formed accordingly; and the army, breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns: the right, consisting of 1200 Portuguese infantry, and 50 Portuguese cavalry, being destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left, consisting of Major-General Ferguson's and Brigadier-General Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major-General Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia; this corps was also ordered to watch the motions of General Loison on the enemy's right; the centre column, consisting of four brigades under Generals Hill, Nightingale, Craufurd, and Fane, with 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine-pounders, and another of six, was destined to attack Laborde's position in front.

The columns being formed, the enemy's posts were successively driven in; and, finding the British rapidly advancing, they immediately retired by the passes into the mountains, with great regularity, and with but trifling loss. The enemy's position, which he had now taken up, was a very formidable one; but dispositions were immediately made to attack it, and the British army resolutely advanced for that purpose. After a considerable opposition on the part of the enemy, the whole were driven from the mountains; and the road, by this victory, was cleared to Lisbon.

Immediately

Immediately after the battle of Roleia, Brigadier-General Anstruther arrived from England with reinforcements. Sir Arthur Wellesley accordingly marched to Lourinho, about eight miles distant from Villa Verde, inclining towards the sea, in order to cover the landing of the troops, and to effect a junction with them on the 20th. He advanced, and took up his ground on the evening of that day at the village of Vimiera. At the very same time, Sir Harry Burrard arrived from England, for the purpose of taking the command of the troops in Portugal, until Sir Hew Dalrymple should join them from Gibraltar. He, however, declined taking the command. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, in expectation of being attacked by the enemy, ordered the army to be under arms at sun-rise the next morning, the 21st.

After the affair of the 17th, the French General Laborde had fallen back upon Torres Vedras on the day of his defeat, having retreated in the whole about seventeen miles, and was joined in the evening by General Loison. General Junot arrived there on the following day; and thus the whole French force being concentrated, they determined, as Sir Arthur Wellesley had foreseen, on attacking him at Vimiera.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the 21st, the French appeared in large bodies of cavalry on the left, upon the heights, and on the Lourinho road. Their object evidently was to make an attack on the advanced guard, and upon the left of the position; Sir Arthur Wellesley therefore ordered General Ferguson's brigade to move across the ravine with three pieces of cannon to the heights on the Lourinho road, where he was followed by other brigades, which all formed with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine which separates those heights from the range towards the sea, and on which the Portuguese troops were posted, supported by Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade. Sir Arthur considering that the advanced guard, on the heights to the south-east, was sufficient for their defence, Major-General (now Lord) Hill was ordered with his brigade as a support to the main body of infantry in the centre, and to serve as a reserve for the whole line; and, in aid of this, the cavalry were drawn up in their rear.

The enemy's attack now began, in several columns, upon the whole of the troops on the height in the centre; and on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were only checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The second battalion of the 43d regiment was also closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the churchyard to prevent them from entering the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed also by the bayonets of the 57th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the second battalion of the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

Hitherto the British operations were completely defensive; but now Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, attacked the enemy in flank, whilst a cannonade was kept up in the flank of their columns by the artillery on those heights. At length, after a most obstinate contest, the whole body of the French in this quarter was driven back in confusion from the attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. They were pursued by the small detachment of the 28th light dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment suffered much, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor being killed whilst leading it on.

Nearly at the same period of time, the enemy attacked with great impetuosity the heights in the road to Lourinho, supported by a large body of cavalry. This attack, however, was received with great steadiness, by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments; and, without waiting for the enemy to close, the British charged them with such gallantry, that they instantly gave way, whilst the whole line continued to advance, supported by Brigadier-General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, advanced and formed part of the first line. This support was further strengthened by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-Generals Bower and Ackland with their brigades, whilst Brigadier-General Craufurd and his division, with the Portuguese troops in two lines, advanced upon the height on the left.

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The advance of General Ferguson's brigade was decisive; for he took six pieces of cannon, made many prisoners, and killed and wounded a great number. In this battle, the French lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, and about 3000 in killed, wounded, and missing; one general officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another killed. The loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 1000*.

The day after the battle of Vimiera, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been called from his situation of Lieutenant-

* Among other gallant circumstances recorded of this battle, the following are particularly mentioned as the theme of admiration of the whole British army.

Major-General Ferguson, whilst in advance with the Highland and another brigade, received orders to retreat slowly from the position which he occupied: thus he did *slowly, and not very readily*; the French army, however, pursued; General Ferguson retreated down a steep hill, and over an extensive plain, his force preserving admirable order. At length the French force approached his rear very closely, and pursued him: the general could no longer repress his own, and the inclination of the gallant little force which he commanded; he faced them about, advanced, and charged the enemy with the bayonet, which the Frenchmen not being able to withstand, they retreated in every direction, and the slaughter was prodigious.

When the French General Bernier was wounded, he was in danger of having been put to death by those into whose hands he fell. A corporal, of the 71st regiment, of the name of Mackay, fortunately came up and rescued him. The general, willing to shew his gratitude to his deliverer, and to reward him, made an offer of his watch and purse. These Mackay positively refused to accept, to the surprise and astonishment of Bernier, who probably thought that the corporal, in rescuing him from death, had a view solely or principally to his own interest, and who, from what he knew of his countrymen, the French, would certainly not be led to anticipate the refusal of what, according to his ideas of the rules of war, might be regarded as lawful booty.

An Highlander, of the name of Steward, the piper of the grenadier company of the same regiment in which Mackay was a corporal, was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and of course rendered unable to accompany his regiment. He refused, however, to be carried off the field of battle; but, having been placed, according to his desire, in a situation where he might be secure and uninterrupted, and at the same time be near his regiment, he continued, during the remainder of the engagement, to animate the men by his martial music.

Mackay was very deservedly rewarded with a commission; and the Highland Society voted a gold medal with a suitable device and inscription to Mr. Mackay, as a mark of their approbation, whilst to Steward they gave a handsome stand of Highland pipes for his highly spirited and very laudable conduct during the battle.

Governor of Gibraltar to take the command of the British army arrived, at Cintra, where the British army had moved to after the battle. A few hours after his arrival, General Kellerman came in from the French lines with a flag of truce from Junot, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops.

On this occasion, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed by the commander-in-chief to communicate with General Kellerman, and some articles were proposed and partly acceded to; but, as it was necessary to have the concurrence of the British naval commander-in-Chief then lying in the Tagus, he very properly objected to the 7th article, which stipulated for the neutrality of the port of Lisbon as far as regarded a Russian squadron then lying there, and for its being permitted to sail without interruption.

At length, after considerable discussion, on the 30th of August, was signed the famous convention of Cintra, which excited so much clamour in England. By this convention it was agreed, that Portugal should be evacuated by the French army; that it should be transported into France in British vessels, and be at liberty to serve again immediately; that it should carry all its artillery, tumbrils, horses, and sixty rounds of ammunition for each gun, together with all the property of the army (*i. e.* *pillage*), private property, military chest, cavalry, horses, &c. &c.

The reasons given for this extraordinary capitulation, so favourable to the beaten enemy, were thus stated by Sir Hew Dalrymple, in his dispatches to government. That having landed in Portugal without being acquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question, his own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal by means of the convention, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded upon the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had

had terms of convention been refused them. Besides this, he considered it of importance that at the time when the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and dangerous beach; and even, that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships, could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. He acknowledged, however, that, during the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence, of Captain Malcolm, of the *Donegal*, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seemed to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary.

That there were some difficulties with respect to the coast is no doubt correct; accordingly, that no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great danger on this iron-bound and difficult coast, and also to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which had been for some days cut off by the badness of the weather, and the heavy surf on the beach, directions were given to the Buffs and 42d regiments (which were on board of transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet) to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus whenever the Admiral thought proper to do so. This part of the service was therefore carried into execution on the morning of the 2d of September, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julian, and the Bugio, were evacuated by the French, and taken possession of by the British troops.

The British admiral, Sir Charles Cotton, under those circumstances, felt himself justified in entering into a convention with the Russian admiral Siniavin, by which the fleet of that nation, consisting of nine line-of-battle ships and one frigate, were surrendered, to be held by England as a deposit until six months after the conclusion of peace between England and Russia; and measures were immediately taken for their being sent to Spithead.

Whatever might have been the reasons for granting such favourable terms to the French army, certain it is that

that it was quite unexpected in England; and an universal sentiment of indignation and regret pervaded all classes. Petitions from all parts of the kingdom were sent, demanding inquiry. A board was appointed accordingly; and in their report, after giving a well-arranged, and not altogether an uncircumstantial account of Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition, declared, that, on a consideration of all circumstances set forth in their report, they most humbly submitted their opinion that no further military proceeding was necessary on that subject. Although some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the English and French armies, it was their unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers, on every occasion during the expedition, had done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on his Majesty's arms.

But the Duke of York, in a letter to Sir David Dundas, president of the board, observed, that, in their report, their opinion respecting the conditions of the armistice and convention had been altogether omitted. He therefore thought it his duty to call their attention to those two important points, the armistice and convention; and that the board would be pleased to take the same again into their most serious consideration, and subjoin to the opinion they had already given on the other points whether, under all the circumstances that appeared in evidence before them respecting the relative situation of the two armies on the 23d of August, it was their opinion that an armistice was advisable; and if so, whether the terms of the armistice were such as ought to have been agreed upon: and whether, upon a like consideration of the relative situation of the two armies subsequently to the armistice, and when all the British forces were landed, it was their opinion that a convention was advisable; and if so, whether the terms of that convention were such as ought to have been agreed upon.

The board met again: the questions proposed by the commander-in-chief were put to each of the members; some

some approved of the treaties, adding the reasons of their approbation; others disapproved of them, likewise stating their reasons.

Finally, a formal declaration of disapprobation, on the part of the King, of both the armistice and convention, with reasons, was officially communicated to Sir Hew Dalrymple*.

How far the illustrious subject of this Memoir had incurred censure in the part he took in these transactions, we leave our readers to form their own opinion; certain it is, however, much clamour was attempted to be excited against him.

It may not be amiss to observe, that, during the progress of the inquiry, on the 22d of November, Sir Arthur found it necessary to enter more fully into his own vindication, particularly after the delivery of a written paper by Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he then stated, that the force he commanded consisted of 13,000 men, and he was taught to expect the aid of 6000 Portuguese; the French army comprised 20,500 men, and was in possession of the fortress of Elvas, which in strength was inferior to none of the second class in Europe: yet he felt confident that the British force was competent to advance against the enemy, and bring the contest to a successful issue—that the line of march he had proposed to pursue was, in his opinion, every way preferable to that chosen by Sir Hew Dalrymple, as it enabled him to keep his force concentrated, and to draw supplies from the fleet—that with respect to the armistice concluded

* During the public clamour on those events, the general indignation was much directed against the ministry, by the extraordinary circumstance of no less than three commanders-in-chief having been with the British army during the space of three days; a circumstance stated to have arisen from indecision on the part of government. But the state of the fact is extremely simple. Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor of Gibraltar, was from the first intended for the chief command; but as the troops could only be sent out from different ports, and at different times, each commanding officer of each detachment would naturally take the command according to his seniority. It was not, therefore, intended that any officer should finally command in chief, except Sir Hew; but it was both an unlucky and a remarkable coincidence of circumstances, that the arrival of those officers, in a succession of seniority, should have taken place at a moment so critical for British honour and for Portuguese security.

with General Kellerman, he positively denied that he was the negotiator; and although he certainly had signed it, yet he disclaimed all responsibility for its honour—that though he thought it expedient that the French should be allowed to evacuate Portugal, with all their baggage and arms, yet to some of the minor terms he could not agree; but most of the objections he made were over-ruled by General Sir Hew Dalrymple—that he was of opinion that the Russian fleet should not be included in a treaty with the French; but that any thing done with respect to them should be the subject of a distinct treaty, and with themselves, as they had acted a neutral part whilst in the Tagus, &c. He also further expressly stated, that he was called by Sir Hew out of another room, *to sign the treaty*, which he read throughout; and, after making the observation that it was a very extraordinary one, he signed it, but without at all feeling himself responsible for its contents, and particularly condemning the want of stipulations for the 5000 Spaniards confined in the hulks in the Tagus.

Before we take leave of this part of our subject, we may be allowed to dwell a little upon the importance of the battle of Vimiera; for notwithstanding its brilliancy was so much obscured by the armistice and convention which followed, yet its general beneficial effects was otherwise very considerable.

One of the most pleasing circumstances which resulted from the victory, and the consequent liberation of Lisbon from the yoke of the French, was the freeing from bondage, and restoring to their country, the Spanish troops which Junot had ordered to be disarmed and confined in the vessels in the Tagus. The day on which their arms were delivered to them presented an interesting and grand sight. In order that this act might be performed with the magnificence which was justly due to it, all the British and Portuguese troops were assembled on the occasion. The sword of the Spanish General was delivered to him by General Beresford, with an appropriate address, in which he congratulated himself on the honour which had been allotted him of delivering to a Spaniard, and therefore a man of honour, that sword of which he had been deprived by the artifice and violence of the foes of his country; and which, now that he had regained it, would undoubtedly

undoubtedly be employed in its defence. As soon as the officers and soldiers were put in possession of their arms, they pronounced a solemn and unanimous oath, never to repose till they had seen their beloved Ferdinand re-established on the throne; and for him, their religion, and their country, to conquer or die.

It may truly be said, that a battle more important in its consequences was never gained by England: whether we consider the beneficial effects which resulted from it, being no less than the recovery of an entire kingdom from the grasp of the common enemy; or its raising the national character in the opinion of Europe (a circumstance of the utmost value in the then, as well as in the present state of the world, and more to be appreciated than conquest itself), and the consequent debasement of the military character of the enemy. Again, if this battle were solely to be estimated by the military talents of the commander, the zeal and good conduct of the officers serving under him, and the individual bravery of every soldier who fought, it will stand second to none which the annals of England commemorate.

In this action, indeed, as in that of Roleia, the want of cavalry was much to be deplored; as this deficiency alone prevented the victory from being as decisive as it was brilliant. In spite, however, of this deficiency, the loss of the enemy cannot be computed at less than 3000 men, and nearly all his artillery. The French had in the field about 15,200 men, of whom 1200 were cavalry; but this latter force by no means distinguished itself, not having once come to a charge in the course of the day; but its position and numbers were formidable, and it continued to keep in check a considerable body of the British troops, occupied in watching its movements.

The French artillery on this day was served in every respect far inferior to that of the British. Indeed, it is impossible to convey an idea of the precision with which the latter was directed, and the execution that it made in the ranks of the enemy. The Shrapnel shells (whose name is adopted from their being the invention of Colonel Shrapnel, of the artillery), in particular, made dreadful havoc among the French.

The honour of the French military character was, however, for some time nobly supported by its infantry.

Their mode of attack was in column; a mode of warfare which they have hitherto successfully practised against the Austrian and other troops of the continent. On this occasion, however, it entirely failed. So far from obtaining the object of this manœuvre, that of penetrating the English line, and taking it then in flank to the right and left, they never approached near enough for the British bayonet to act, without having their heads of columns invariably broken, and the whole thrown into confusion.

What also contributed materially to their defeat was the scientific manner in which the English general met this species of attack. The French army advanced in three large columns, in such a manner as to bring them all to bear upon the British left and centre. Invariably as each advanced, and independently of the resistance it met in the front, it was taken on the flanks by the fire of a corps advanced for that purpose, by a small change in their position; by which means they lost a surprising number of men before they could put it to the bayonet. In fact, in no case did the French come to the resort of this latter weapon, that they were not instantly broken, not standing its push an instant.

The advance of the enemy to the attack was impetuous, and even furious. As they approached, they saluted the English with every opprobrious epithet; while, on the contrary, the latter, in derision, cheered them as they approached.

Before the action, General Junot harangued his army in the following laconic terms—"Frenchmen! there is the sea. You must drive those English into it!" In fact, they did their utmost for three hours and a half to obey his orders, but never during that time made the smallest impression on the English line, although they repeatedly rallied, and tried every thing which could be effected by rapidity of movement, and particularly of attack. At length, wearied out and beaten, they were forced to give way in every direction, and were pursued off the field of battle by the British infantry for a distance of three miles.

Numerically speaking, it must be confessed that the superiority of troops was on the British side; but then, as otherwise observed, not more than 1000 of these were
ever

ever brought into action, whilst every Frenchman was engaged: for when the French retreated, General Hill's brigade, which formed the second line of the British, and were destined to receive the enemy in case they had penetrated the first, had not fired a single musquet, were quite fresh, and might have been led in pursuit of the enemy immediately, if such a manœuvre had been judged proper, according to Sir Arthur Wellesley's suggestion.

On this glorious and ever memorable day, the most conspicuous circumstance connected with it is, doubtless, the conduct of the British commander-in-chief, as well from his rank as his responsibility. On him every thing turned; to his conduct every one looked; the good or the evil which might result from the expedition was referred to him alone.

It is proper further to remark, that, during the whole of this period, Sir Arthur never went under cover at night, but always slept on the ground in the open air: he was the first up and the last down, of the whole camp; sleeping constantly in his clothes, and his horse picquetted near him, ready saddled, to be mounted at a moment's warning.

During the whole of this anxious period, he was cheerful, affable, and easy of access; enduring every privation himself, he was attentive to the wants of all, and ever active to obviate them.

Of his dispositions in the field notice has already been taken. In personal bravery he has rarely been equalled, never excelled. Conspicuous by the star of the order he adorns, he was constantly in the hottest part of the action; whenever a corps was to be led on, from the death of its officer, or any other unexpected cause, Sir Arthur was on the spot at the head of it.

After the convention of Cintra, his Grace returned to England on leave of absence; having, previous to his departure, received from the general officers of the army a present of a piece of plate valued at 1000 guineas, and a similar one from the field-officers serving under him, as testimonies of the high esteem in which they held him as a man, and of the unbounded confidence they placed in him as an officer.

His Grace now resumed his parliamentary and official

duties; and, in his place in the House of Commons, upon a motion being made respecting the campaign in Portugal, he explained his views and motives of action throughout the whole expedition. His plan, he observed, was to engage the enemy as near to Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up his advantage, exactly as he had proposed to Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple; and he again added, that if the enemy had been vigorously followed, there would have been no occasion for a convention.

On the 25th of January, the House of Commons voted thanks to his Grace and his noble companions in arms, for the great and eminent services they had performed at the battle of Vimiera.

An objection being made to his Grace's holding the office of chief secretary for Ireland during his absence abroad, a motion on this subject was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Whitbread, the substance of which was to the following effect: "That the office of chief secretary for Ireland is an effective office of the highest responsibility, which cannot be held by any person absent from the realm; and that the emolument of that office ought not to be enjoyed by any person who is rendered by his situation unable to perform the duties thereof." In explanation of his conduct upon this subject, his Grace observed, that when he was first appointed to the secretaryship, it was with the clear understanding, that his acceptance of that situation should not preclude him from any military command. Under this impression he had gone to Zealand, and afterwards to Portugal; and having, in both instances, found the office vacant upon his return, he had resumed the functions of it: that in both instances he had relinquished all claim to a continuance in it upon his leaving the country, and of course should have felt no disappointment, had he, on his return, have found it filled by others. That it was to the kind partiality of the Noble Duke at the head of the government of Ireland (the Duke of Richmond) that he was indebted for his continuance in it, who had expressed his wish to avail himself of his (his Grace's) services. This explanation was deemed quite satisfactory to the House; and Lord Castlereagh having moved the previous question, Mr. Whitbread

Whitbread said, that his only object in bringing forward the motion was to prevent the present case being established as a precedent.

Nothing material occurred in his Grace's life, from this time, until his arrival in Portugal, to take the command of the English army. But, before we proceed to notice the military operations which followed, and which were crowned with such unexampled success, it will be necessary to take a slight retrospect of the campaign which ended so unfortunately, though gloriously, under Sir John Moore.

Sir Hew Dalrymple having been recalled, after the convention of Cintra, and Sir Harry Burrard having resigned, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had arrived from England as third in command. Soon after the battle of Vimiera, on learning the particulars of that battle, he bestowed warm praises upon Sir Arthur Wellesley, and declared to Sir Hew Dalrymple, that he wished to wave all pretensions derived from his seniority; and that, as Sir Arthur had done so much, it was fair he should take the lead in any intended operations against Lisbon; and, if the good of the service required, he would execute any part that was allotted to him without interfering with Sir Arthur.

It was now determined to send a force into Galicia, to co-operate with the Spanish Patriots in that quarter; in furtherance of which plan, Sir John Moore had orders to send the cavalry of his army by land, and to use his own discretion in conveying the infantry and artillery, either by sea or otherwise. He was to be joined, on his arrival, by a force of 15,000 men under General Sir David Baird, who was to march from Corunna for that purpose.

Having determined to march by land (his means being inadequate to convey his army by sea), he was under the necessity, from a variety of circumstances, as well as from the difficulties he had to encounter, to divide his forces into three divisions: part of the artillery with the cavalry going through Spain, and the remainder by different routes through Portugal. The different regiments of each division followed each other in succession, to facilitate the march; Sir John intending that the whole of
the

the troops coming from Portugal should unite at Salamanca, and that Sir David Baird and General Hope should either join there or at Valladolid. The several divisions being moved off, Sir John Moore left Lisbon on the 27th of October, just as the grand Spanish armies were commencing their plan of operations against the French army north of the Ebro.

After encountering great difficulties in their march, the advanced guard of the army arrived at Salamanca on the 13th of November, where they halted, it being intended to assemble all the forces before any further advance into Spain took place.

Sir John had only been two days at Salamanca, when he was informed, by an express from the governor of the province, General Pignatelli, that the French army had advanced and taken possession of Valladolid, which is only twenty leagues from Salamanca. At this period Sir John was only with his advanced corps, in an open town, three marches from the French army, without even a Spanish picquet to cover his front, although he had been promised that his march into Spain should be covered by a force of 60 or 70,000 men; and his own force consisted only of three brigades of infantry, without a single gun, as the remainder were moving up in succession, but could not be expected under less than ten days.

Decisive measures were immediately necessary; he therefore sent orders to Generals Baird and Hope to concentrate their divisions, and to advance with all speed to Salamanca. Sir David Baird did not reach Astorga until the 19th of November, having had a thousand difficulties to encounter. From this place he deemed it imprudent to advance, observing, in an official letter, "We have no kind of support to expect from the Spaniards, who are completely dispersed and driven from the field; and if I were to move forward the infantry I have at present here, I should necessarily expose myself to be beaten in detail, without a chance of being able to oppose any effectual resistance." General Hope, who had proceeded by the Elvas road, had already done wonders: for, notwithstanding his toilsome march, he, by indefatigable exertions and good arrangements, had provided for the subsistence of the corps under his command, and had brought them into the vicinity of Madrid.

Sir

Sir John Moore, not receiving that co-operation from the Spaniards which he expected, and without which any force that he possessed would be inadequate to fulfil the objects of his expedition; hearing also of the defeat of Castanos's army, and considering the possibility of his being cut off from the divisions of Generals Baird and Hope, took the resolution of withdrawing the army from Galicia and Leon, and of assembling it upon the banks of the Tagus. He accordingly assembled the general officers; and having stated to them the motives and the plan he adopted, he told them he had not called them together to request their counsel, or to induce them to commit themselves by giving any opinion upon the subject; he took the responsibility entirely upon himself, and only required that they would immediately prepare for carrying it into effect.

This plan of retreating, however, was not immediately carried into effect; Sir John being induced, upon the representations of Morla, the Spanish traitor, to alter his intentions. It appears that this man, who was in actual treaty with the enemy at the time, had been very successful in imposing upon Mr. Frere, the English ambassador; so much so, that Mr. Frere sent a very pressing letter by Colonel Charmilly, an emigrant officer in the English service who had just left Madrid, and whose verbal representations to Sir John Moore were so highly descriptive of the spirit of the inhabitants of that capital, that he was actually led to believe a great and unexpected improvement in the affairs of Spain had taken place. He accordingly determined to abandon his idea of retreating to the Tagus, and to support Madrid to the utmost of his power. This determination, however, was but of short duration; for Madrid having actually fallen into the enemy's hands, Sir John Moore was once more obliged to alter his plans. Instead, therefore, of advancing towards the Spanish capital, he, with a view of uniting with the corps of the Marquis of Romana, and of carrying on the war in the North of Spain, moved towards the Douro; the reserve, and General Beresford's brigades, were marched to Toro, there to unite with the cavalry under Lord Paget, whilst he himself moved, with the other divisions, towards Tordesillas; Sir David Baird was directed to push on his brigades to Benevente: and the whole

whole being united, it was intended to advance to Valladolid, and there to threaten the communication between Madrid and the French territory.

This plan, however, of advancing to Valladolid proved to be too hazardous an undertaking, considering the relative strength and positions of the contending armies; and abundance of intelligence amply proved that Buonaparte was secretly collecting an immense force, for the purpose of entirely overwhelming the English army. No time was therefore to be lost. Accordingly, Sir John immediately moved the army to Toro; thus commencing that retreat which ended so unfortunately to the Spanish cause.

It appears, that the plan of Buonaparte was to decoy Sir John Moore to Burgos. For this purpose, he gave orders to Soult to give way if attacked, and to push on a corps to Leon on their left flank, whilst he himself moved, with all the forces he could muster, from Benevente, thus expecting to surround the British with 60 or 70,000 men before they could possibly reach Galicia. Sir John Moore being apprised of his danger, in order to frustrate the plan of the enemy, commenced his retreat, but too late to prevent being most severely harassed by the enemy's forces. Several skirmishes took place during the early part of the retreat; and, on the 27th of December, the rear-guard of the British crossed the Eslar, and blew up the bridge*.

When Buonaparte arrived with his army at Astorga, he found it impossible to intercept Sir John Moore; he there-

* During the retreat, a gallant achievement of a small party of cavalry deserves particular notice. It appears that the British, in their retreat over a river, had blown up the bridge: but the French cavalry discovered a ford above it, where they crossed. They then formed, and were nearly double the number that could be brought against them. Our brave countrymen rejoiced at the sight, and forgot the disparity of numbers. They advanced smartly upon the enemy, who stood to receive them, and, at a short distance, fired upon the British. General Stewart, who commanded, then advanced beyond his line, and gave the words, "Draw!—Charge!" The British rushed on; the French received them firmly; and for a quarter of an hour the clash of sabres rung like a peal of bells. General Stewart was opposed to General Le Febvre, whom he made prisoner. Several other French officers also were taken, and a great many men fell on both sides.

fore gave up the pursuit himself, but detached three of his Marshals, each having a division, directing them to follow the British closely, and to destroy them either before or during their embarkation at Corunna, to which place Sir John Moore was directing his retreat †.

At length, after surmounting the greatest difficulties, and traversing a tract of country 250 miles in extent, through mountains, defiles, and rivers, and being constantly in contact with a superior enemy in pursuit, the British army arrived at Corunna, in order to embark; but it was soon found, that the French army had followed up so closely, that, before the embarkation could take place, a battle must be fought.

About one in the afternoon of the 16th of January, the enemy, who had on the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 16th, he had taken in the immediate front of the British army.

This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by a rapid and determined attack upon Sir David Baird's division, which occupied the right of the British. This first effort of the enemy was met by Sir John Moore, and by Sir David Baird, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

The village on the right now became an object of the most obstinate contest. Sir David Baird here received a

† Although the enemy were indeed frustrated in their attacks up to this period, yet a multitude of severe distresses were now accumulating upon the British, which the prudence of their leader could not avert. Deluges of cold rain fell, chilling and drenching the soldiers, who were wading in bad roads, deep with mud. It was often difficult to procure shelter when they halted; or fuel to dry their clothes, or to dress their food. The provisions were often scanty, and irregularly procured; for the baggage, magazines, and stores, were transported on carts, drawn chiefly by Spanish mules and bullocks; but the drivers, terrified by the approach and attacks of the French cavalry, often ran away in the night-time, leaving their waggons. The bullocks and mules could not be made to move, except by the native drivers, so that provisions and stores were often obliged to be destroyed; and, for the same reason, the sick and wounded were necessarily left behind.

severe wound, which deprived the army of his services ; and soon after Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot*.

* After Sir John Moore had received the fatal ball, he raised himself up, with an unaltered countenance, looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse, and took him by the hand ; then, observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing ; upon which his countenance immediately brightened. His friend Colonel Graham now dismounted to assist him ; and, from the composure of his features, entertained hopes that he was not even wounded ; but, observing the horrid laceration, and effusion of blood, he rode off for surgeons.

The General was carried from the field of battle in a blanket, by a serjeant of the 42d and some soldiers. On his way, knowing of Sir David Baird being wounded, he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his own wound to General Hope, who then assumed the command.

The tidings of this unfortunate disaster were carried to Sir David Baird, when the surgeons were dressing his shattered arm. He instantly commanded them to desist, and to run to attend Sir John Moore ; but when they arrived and offered their assistance, he coolly said, " You can be of no service to me ; go to the soldiers, to whom you may be useful."

As the soldiers were carrying him slowly along, he made them turn him round frequently, to view the field of battle, and to listen to the firing, and was well pleased when the sound grew fainter. At this period a spring-waggon, bearing Colonel Wynch wounded from the battle, came up. The Colonel asked who was in the blanket ? and being told it was Sir John Moore, he wished him to be placed in the waggon ; but the General asking one of the Highlanders whether he thought the waggon or the blanket best ? the honest fellow answered, that the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and the other soldiers could keep the step and carry him easy. Sir John said, " I think so too ;" and thus they proceeded with him to his lodgings, the soldiers shedding tears as they went. In carrying him through the passage of the house, he saw his faithful servant François, who was stunned at the spectacle ; but Sir John said to him, smiling, " My friend, this is nothing."

It having been ascertained, that it was the General's wish, that if he should ever die in battle he might be buried on the spot where he fell, it was determined that the body should be interred in the rampart of the citadel of Corunna.

At twelve at night, his remains were accordingly carried to the spot, by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and his aides-de-camp, and deposited, until a grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment. No coffin could be procured, and the body, which was not undressed, was wrapt up by his sorrowful friends in a military cloak and blankets. Towards eight in the morning some firing was heard, when, lest a serious attack should be made, and prevent the last duties being performed, the officers of his family bore the body to the grave, the funeral service was read by the chaplain, and the gallant remains laid in its cold and silent, yet honourable, bed.

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The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had just sustained, were not dismayed; but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those actually engaged.

The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the British position, endeavoured by superior numbers to turn it; but a judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, accompanied by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward a rifle corps, the 95th and the first battalion of the 52d regiment drove the enemy before him; and, in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of his position; which circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax their efforts in that quarter.

These efforts, however, were but the more forcibly directed towards the centre: where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of Sir David Baird's division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under Lieutenant-General Hope.

Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon the British picquets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding his efforts thus unavailing upon their right and centre, he now seemed determined to make the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in gaining possession of a village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of this part of the line.

From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion of the 14th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols; so that, before five in the evening, the British had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon that position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and had occupied a more forward line than at the

commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six, the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the picquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.

Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over the enemy, who, from his numbers and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, General Hope, who had now the command of the army, on reviewing all circumstances, did not conceive that he should be warranted in departing from what he knew was the fixed and previous determination of Sir John Moore, to withdraw the army in the evening of the 16th for embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his orders, and even in fact far advanced at the commencement of the action.

Orders were therefore given for the troops to quit their position about ten at night. The artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops marched to their respective points of embarkation. The picquets remained at their posts until five in the morning of the 17th, when they also were withdrawn, without the enemy having discovered the movements.

By the unremitting exertions of the navy, and in consequence of the judicious arrangements made by the officers directing the transport service, the whole were embarked with a degree of expedition which has seldom been equalled; and, with the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day-light. The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form the rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-General Hill was stationed in reserve, in the promontory in rear of the town. The French pushed their light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th; and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour:

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but, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard would be forced, and the dispositions of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced, and completed by three o'clock in the afternoon.

General Beresford, also, having made every necessary arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town, soon after dark; and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one in the morning.

The loss of the English in the battle of Corunna did not exceed 800; that of the French is supposed to have been nearly double. In this manner ended the unfortunate campaign under Sir John Moore; but, although its termination proved so contrary to the just expectations that were formed of it, no imputation can possibly be fixed upon the brave and illustrious commander of the British army. Its unhappy result arose more from an extraordinary combination of unfortunate circumstances, which the utmost foresight could not reach, than from any other cause. But, although we have to lament its unfortunate issue, yet we must be allowed to pay a just tribute to the unexampled bravery of the British army; which, after so fatiguing and harassing a retreat, was yet able to repel all the attacks of the French forces; and if it did not accomplish any other substantial benefit, it at least raised the military renown of Great Britain to a height which had scarcely ever been surpassed.

Having thus given a history of the military operations in Spain and Portugal which took place during the absence of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, we now return to the noble subject of this biography.

The command of the British troops that remained in Portugal after the termination of the unfortunate campaign which we have just related, was entrusted to Lieutenant-General Sir John Craddock, who had taken up a defensive position in the neighbourhood of Lisbon; but, notwithstanding the failure of Sir John Moore's expedition, the British government was resolved to support the Spanish cause to the utmost of their power, and, at all events, to preserve Portugal. They accordingly appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to the chief command of
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the British and Portuguese forces. Sir John Craddock, who had received considerable reinforcements from England, had already prepared to advance to Oporto, in order to compel Marshal Soult, who had advanced to that city (the second in importance in Portugal), to evacuate it. He accordingly, on the 9th of April 1809, advanced from the neighbourhood of Lisbon, with a force of about 18,000 men, and arrived at Leyria with the main body of the infantry on the 22d. On the same day Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived from England, and took the command, and was received with great joy by the inhabitants. On the 24th he set out to join the army, which had advanced towards Coimbra; and on the 2d of May he arrived in that city, where the whole of the army was now assembled. On the 6th he reviewed his whole force in the plain below the city, and next day commenced his march in the direction of Oporto.

At this period, Marshal Soult, with the main body of his army was at Oporto; and his advanced guard of cavalry, under the command of General Franceschi, stationed on the north bank of the Vouga. The French force was understood to be 24,000, but very much scattered, as they had garrisons on the Leyria river, and at Tuy and Valence on the Minho.

The army under Marshal Victor was in the neighbourhood of Badajos. Major-General Mackenzie's brigade was ordered to advance to Abrantes on the Tagus; and the Lusitanian legion, commanded by Colonel Mayne, had proceeded to Alcantara, as a corps of observation.

On the 10th in the morning, before day-light, the cavalry and advanced guard of the English army crossed the Vouga, with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albergeria Nova and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river. Some prisoners and cannon were taken, and the advanced guard took up a position at Oliviera. Next day the army came up with the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of about 5000 men, and defeated them on the heights near Grijo, from whence they retired across the Douro in the course of the night, and destroyed the bridge of boats. Marshal Soult hoped, by this measure, to arrest
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the progress of the combined army; but he was little acquainted with the talent and resources of its distinguished leader.

On reaching the banks of the river, Sir Arthur Wellesley having collected boats for the purpose, and having previously detached Major-General Murray with a battalion of the Hanoverian legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-pounders, to cross higher up, pushed over a small force, under General Paget, who had orders to maintain himself until reinforcements arrived; this corps had no sooner crossed, than it was attacked with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult, which was most gallantly sustained, till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments belonging to Major-General Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the first battalion of detachments belonging to Brigadier-General Richard Stuart's brigade. General Paget being wounded, the command devolved upon General Hill; and, although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression. At length, Major-General Murray (by the masterly movement of the morning) having appeared on the left flank of the French, on his march from Ovintra, where he had crossed, and Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke (who by this time had availed himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the Ferry, between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto) having appeared upon the right with the brigade of Guards, and the 29th regiment, the whole of the enemy's forces retired in the utmost confusion towards Amarantha, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrils, and many prisoners. Their loss amounted to a considerable number; and they left 700 sick and wounded behind them in the hospitals at Oporto.

It is impossible to do sufficient justice to the exertions of the British army during the whole of these operations, or sufficiently to admire the promptitude and decision of its illustrious commander. In four days, they had marched over eighty miles of most difficult country, had gained many important positions, and had actually engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops. The passage of the Douro may be considered as one of the

the most brilliant exploits of the Duke of Wellington, considering the obstacles he had to overcome. The French officers themselves confessed, that it had never been equalled even by Buonaparte himself; and they had no conception it could have been attempted so soon, as is evident from Marshal Soult having taken no measures for his retreat.

Upon entering Oporto, Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately issued a proclamation to the Portuguese, enjoining them to treat the French prisoners with humanity.

On the morning of the 13th, Sir Arthur Wellesley led his army from Oporto in pursuit of the retreating enemy; and in the evening he received information that they had destroyed a great proportion of their artillery in the neighbourhood of Pennafiel, and had directed their march towards Braga; a measure to which he was evidently driven in consequence of Marshal Beresford's co-operation on the Tamarga.

Marshal Beresford (who had crossed the Douro near Lamego, on the 10th, with Major-General Tilson's brigade of infantry, and a considerable body of Portuguese, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy to Galicia by the way of Chaves) found, on his arrival at Amarante, that the Portuguese General Silviera had been obliged to evacuate that position, which was occupied by a division of the French army under General Loison, who, upon hearing of the passage of the Douro, immediately evacuated this post, and joined the main body of the army under Soult. General Beresford having occupied this post, afterwards directed his march on Chaves, with the view of intercepting the enemy, should he retreat by that road.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having continued the pursuit, arrived at Braga on the 15th, and on the following day at Salamonde; and this with such rapidity, that the Guards, under Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke and Brigadier-General Campbell, then in advance of the British army, had an affair with the enemy's rear-guard, at a late hour in the evening. In this business, the British attacked them in their position; and having turned their flanks by the heights, the enemy immediately retreated, leaving a gun and some prisoners behind them.

On the 17th and 18th the pursuit continued; and on
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the latter day the British army arrived at Monte Alegre, when Sir Arthur found that Soult had taken a road through the mountains towards Orenza, by which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to overtake him, and on which he had no means of stopping him. The enemy left behind him all his sick and wounded; and the road from Pennafiel to Monte Alegre was strewn with the carcasses of horses and mules, and the dead bodies of the French who had fallen into the hands of the peasantry. The French lost above a fourth of their army, and the whole of their baggage and artillery.

By this brilliant and short campaign, the whole of Portugal was freed from the enemy. Marshal Victor, on receiving intelligence of Soult's defeat and subsequent retreat into Galicia, retired from the Portuguese frontiers towards Madrid.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having performed this service, marched his army southwards to Abrantes, where he collected stores and provisions to enable him to march into Spain to co-operate with General Cuesta, who had assembled about 40,000 men in the province of Estremadura. After a short repose, the army was put in motion; a plan of operations having been previously agreed upon between the English and Spanish generals.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had stipulated that the Spanish government should furnish 500 mules for the transport of his provisions, and expected to have found a Spanish commissary at Zarza Mayor to aid that department of the British army in procuring their supplies. In this he was disappointed; but, convinced of what importance a British force in Spain was to the patriotic cause, he continued his march to Placentia, where the whole of the army was concentrated on the 16th of July. General Cuesta had eagerly pressed the advance of the British, with an assurance of ample supplies; but, although the troops were now in one of the most fertile districts of Spain, the indolence of the magistrates was such, that Sir Arthur Wellesley in vain entreated them to furnish provisions, without which he found himself unable to proceed. Although mortified at the delays which had hitherto taken place, and the little attention paid by the Spaniards to fulfil their engagements, Sir Arthur Wellesley felt disposed to continue the system of operations concerted betwixt

Cuesta and himself; and, after receiving a promise from the authorities of Placentia, that the supplies required for the army would be collected without further delay, the British moved forward on the 17th of July, and formed a junction with the army of Estremadura on the 20th.

The Spanish army of Estremadura, under General Cuesta, was in the vicinity of Almaros, and amounted to about 38,000 men (exclusive of the force under Vanegas), of which about 7000 were cavalry; 14,000 of this force were detached to the bridge of Arzobispo, and the remainder were encamped under the Puerte de Mirabete.

Early in July, Joseph Buonaparte joined Sebastiani with those troops which he brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from Marshal Victor's corps, making the force under Sebastiani about 28,000 men; and their intention was to attack the Spanish corps under General Vanegas. But that officer retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena; and, though forced to retreat, was still able to attack and destroy a considerable part of the enemy's advanced guard.

The French troops then returned to the Tagus; and the whole army, then under Victor, and amounting to about 35,000, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberché.

The combined English and Spanish armies, on the 22d of July 1809, advanced to Talavera de la Reyna, whence the enemy was dislodged in the course of the morning by the advance of the British and Spaniards. The French retired upon their main body posted on the left bank of the Alberché, closely pursued.

Next day, Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed attacking Marshal Victor; but, General Cuesta having refused to co-operate (owing, some say, to the want of ammunition), the intended attack was deferred till the following morning, when the army, on reaching the banks of the river, had the mortification to discover that the enemy had availed himself of the delay, and was in full retreat to Santa Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos, evidently with the intention of forming a junction with Sebastiani. There can be no doubt, had Sir Arthur's propositions for attacking the enemy on the 23d been adopted, that the destruction of Marshal Victor's corps would have been inevitable. General Cuesta followed the enemy's
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line of march with his army from the Alberché, on the morning of the 24th, as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos.

On the 26th, Joseph Buonaparte having collected the whole of his disposable force, the French united army consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of seven or eight thousand men of Joseph Buonaparte's guards, and the garrison of Madrid, amounting altogether to 47,000 men, commanded by Joseph himself, who was assisted by Marshals Jourdan and Victor and General Sebastiani.

On the 26th, the French attacked Cuesta's advanced guard at Torrijos, and drove them across the Alberché.

It now became evident, that the enemy intended no longer to retreat, but meant to give battle to the allied army. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, withdrew the advanced guard of the British from Caselegos, across the Alberché; leaving a division of infantry, a brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of artillery, under Major-General Mackenzie, in the woods on the right bank of that river, about a league in front of Talavera.

The position occupied by the combined army extended nearly three miles. The ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed; and it was commanded by an height, on which was *en echelon* and in second line a division of infantry under Major-General Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, there was a valley, not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height itself, and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the extended action. The Spanish troops formed the right of the whole; and they extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberché was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied; and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, in the roads which led from the town, and the right to the left of the British force. In the centre, between the two armies, there was

a commanding spot of ground, on which the allies begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear; and at this spot Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell was posted with a division of infantry, supported by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry in his rear.

Such were the dispositions of the allied army. The operations now commenced; and, about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy crossed the Alberché, which was every where fordable, and attacked Major-General Mackenzie, who retired with some loss. About half-past six o'clock, the enemy appeared in considerable force on the heights opposite the centre of the British line, and commenced a heavy fire, which was immediately returned from the guns placed on an eminence in the rear of General Hill's division. At the same time the French made a vigorous attack in order to gain possession of the height, from whence, after a most obstinate conflict, they were driven at the point of the bayonet. The enemy also pushed forward several corps of infantry, supported by a strong division on the right, with a view of carrying the town of Talavera; in which object he failed, and was driven back by the fire of the Spanish batteries.

In the course of the night, the enemy made a second assault upon the height, from whence, after gaining a momentary possession, he was dislodged by General Hill with prodigious slaughter.

The night was spent in a state of mutual alarm. At length day broke upon the contending armies, who were drawn up opposite to each other, in the positions they respectively occupied at the beginning of the action on the preceding evening. About six the engagement was renewed, and continued without intermission until eleven o'clock, when the firing ceased, as if by mutual consent, for nearly three hours; during which interval the French appeared to be employed in cooking, and the British army reposed on the ground, seemingly regardless of the enemy's presence. The principal efforts of the French, throughout the morning, were again directed upon the left; but Major-General Hill successfully repelled every attempt to turn his position, and obliged the enemy to retire with considerable loss.

Sir

Sir Arthur Wellesley, surrounded by his staff, observed the progress of the battle on a height to the left of the British line. From this point he witnessed every movement that was made, and, in the midst of the hottest fire, issued the necessary orders with his characteristic coolness and judgment. Two of his aides-de-camp, Captains Bouverie and Burgh, were wounded by his side.

At one, P. M. the enemy was observed bringing up fresh troops, and forming his columns, apparently for the purpose of renewing the attack; and, about two o'clock, the French again advanced under a heavy cannonade, and made a general attack upon the whole of the position occupied by the British. The enemy's attacking columns, on the right, were received by Brigadier-General Campbell's division at the point of the bayonet, and driven back with the loss of their artillery. The efforts of the enemy on the left were equally unsuccessful as before; and a charge made by Brigadier-General Anson with the 23d light dragoons and German hussars upon a solid column of infantry, although attended with a severe loss to the former regiment, had the effect of checking their further advance in that direction.

Meanwhile the centre was warmly engaged. Exactly at three o'clock, several heavy columns advanced upon this point, and deployed, with the utmost precision, into line, as they entered the plain which lay betwixt the heights occupied by the hostile armies. This was the grand attack; and, on the first indication of the enemy's intention, Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke gave directions that his division should prepare for the charge. The French came on over the rough and broken ground in the valley, in the most imposing manner, and with great resolution, and were met by the British with their usual undaunted firmness: as if with one accord, the division advanced against the enemy, whose ranks were speedily broken, and thrown into confusion, by a well-directed volley. The impetuosity of the soldiers was not to be repressed; and the brigade on the immediate left of the Guards being halted, that flank, from its advanced situation in the eagerness of pursuit, became exposed to the enemy, who had already given way, and deserted his guns on the hill in front, until observing this part of the line unsupported, the French rallied, and returned with increased

increased numbers to the attack upon the centre. Brigadier-General Harry Campbell now gave orders for the Guards to retire to their original position in line, and the first battalion of the 48th regiment was directed to cover this movement, by the commander of the forces, who saw and provided for every emergency during the tremendous conflict. Foiled at all points, the French withdrew with the remains of the columns which had been unsuccessfully opposed to the centre, and, about five in the evening, commenced their retreat across the Alberché to Santa Olalla, leaving a rear-guard of 10,000 men on the heights behind the ruin, which were withdrawn on the 31st. The loss of the British army, which entered the field 18,300 effective men, with 30 pieces of cannon, in the two days' action, consisted of 34 officers, 767 men, killed; 195 officers, 3718 men, wounded; 9 officers, 644 men, missing: making a total of 5367. The loss of the enemy was at first estimated at 10,000 in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; but subsequent accounts stated their loss at not less than 14,000 men, and 20 pieces of cannon.

A reinforcement, consisting of Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade, arrived in the British camp on the 29th in the morning; and so great had been their anxiety to join in the battle, that they had actually marched twelve Spanish leagues in little more than twenty-four hours.

Immediately after the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley was declared Generalissimo of the Spanish armies; a circumstance which, it was hoped, would produce more unity of design in the Spanish proceedings, both civil and military.

Although the battle of Talavera proved so honourable to the victors, yet its results did not at all prove favourable to the Spanish cause; for we find Sir Arthur Wellesley, very shortly after, was obliged to fall back, and to take a defensive position at Delatosa on the Tagus. This unexpected movement of the British general has given rise to some severe censures upon his conduct in advancing into Spain. He has been blamed for advancing beyond Placentia without receiving those supplies which the Spanish government had promised him; and, again, for leaving a formidable force on his left flank. For this, however, he had in some degree provided, by directing Marshal Beresford, with the Portuguese army, to observe Soult's

Soult's motions; and he had pointed out to General Cuesta the necessity of detaching a force to the Puerto de Banos for the security of that important pass, by which only the rear of the British army could be threatened. These imputations upon his conduct, however, can have but little force, if we consider that the whole complexion of the campaign would have been altered had Marshal Victor been attacked on the 23d; and it is only fair to suppose, that his defeat, which must have taken place, was amongst the calculations of the English general: but this plan, as we have noticed before, was not acceded to by General Cuesta, who commanded the Spanish army. Besides, the retreat of Sir John Moore had left an impression on the minds of the Spaniards unfavourable to the character of the British arms. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, having entered Spain relying upon the assurances of supplies which had been promised by the Spanish government, conceived that the character of the British army would suffer still more if he abandoned the system of operations which he had concerted with Cuesta, even although the promised supplies might be withheld from him.

With regard to his operations after the battle of Talavera, it may be observed, that on Sir Arthur Wellesley's marching from Talavera for the purpose of attacking Soult at Placentia, General Cuesta ought to have moved forward with his army, and taken post on the right bank of the Alberché, with one corps posted over that river, and strong picquets of cavalry to watch the enemy; which attitude would have enabled him to intercept all communication with the French armies. Marshal Beresford was on the frontier, with two brigades of British infantry and the Portuguese army, threatening the enemy's rear; whilst Sir Robert Wilson made a rapid march across the mountains, and alarmed his left. This was the state of affairs when Sir Arthur Wellesley, by the unexpected march of General Cuesta's army from Talavera, was compelled to retire to the left bank of the Tagus, followed by the Spanish troops.

In the beginning of September, Sir Arthur Wellesley placed his whole army upon the line of the Guadiana, and established his head-quarters at Badajoz.

However unprofitable the victory of Talavera proved to

to be, the good conduct and bravery of the army and its illustrious commander did not fail of exciting the admiration of their country. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to them; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as a reward for his services, was raised to the dignity of the peerage, being created a Viscount on the 26th of August 1809; and an annuity of £2000 a year was voted to him by Parliament.

Lord Wellington, soon after the retreat of his army, suffered severely from the fatigues of the campaign; but his health being re-established in October, he was, about that time, appointed by the Regency Captain-General of all the forces serving in Portugal; and his army was now in excellent order, having all its provisions and stores supplied from Lisbon and Abrantes.

The unfortunate result of the battle of Oçana, in which the army of La Mancha, under the command of Lieutenant-General Ariesaga, was totally defeated and dispersed, laid the whole south of Spain open to the incursions of the enemy; and it became no longer necessary or desirable, in a military point of view, to retain the British army on the borders of Estremadura.

Lord Wellington, therefore, withdrew his army from Spain in the month of December 1809; and in the course of three weeks, the whole of his force was placed on a new and extended position along the frontiers of Portugal: head-quarters at the city of Vizen. The British troops passed the following six months in a state of comparative tranquillity, while the French army was making the most vigorous preparations for the conquest of Portugal. The overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and the confidence with which he proclaimed his intention of driving Lord Wellington and his army into the sea, inspired a feeling of apprehension for the final issue of the campaign, which not even the reliance placed by the British on the skill and gallantry of their distinguished leader could entirely dissipate.

We shall pass over the military events which took place in Spain during the inactivity of Lord Wellington's army, and proceed to relate the important events which took place in Portugal in the year 1810.

The command of the French army was now entrusted to General Massena, and amounted to nearly 110,000 men:



*Marshal Massena.
Prince of Essling.*



men: its object was to drive the English out of Portugal. The distribution of this immense force will serve to elucidate the important events now about to take place. General Loison, with 15,000 men, invested Almeida; whilst the remainder of Ney's corps, about 10,000, were at Fort de la Conception. About three miles north-west from Ciudad Rodrigo, at St. Felix, was Junot, with 25,000 men; whilst a force to the same amount was in Ciudad Rodrigo and its immediate vicinity. These three corps were within two days' march of Lord Wellington's army, and some part of them not more than seven or eight miles distant; whilst Massena, the commander-in-chief, was at Valdemula, a village near Ciudad Rodrigo, which a short time before had been occupied by Lord Wellington. Kellerman was in the north of Portugal, and threatened Oporto with 12,000 men; and Regnier menaced Alentejo in the south, with about 18,000 men; whilst the remaining small divisions occupied such posts as were most convenient for procuring forage, &c.

With such an overwhelming force, it is not surprising that Massena and his Imperial Master should have considered the conquest of Portugal as certain; yet even such a force, we shall now see, was baffled by the superior skill and address of the British general, whose defensive conduct in this situation seems more worthy of admiration than even his most brilliant victories.

It may be necessary to premise, without going very far back, that ever since the retreat after the battle of Talavera, in the preceding year, the plan of Lord Wellington had been to avoid any further active co-operation with the Spanish army, until it was better organized; but, at the same time, he resolved not to retire from Spain, unless obliged by absolute necessity. Should that even be the case, still he determined, if possible, to make a stand on the Portuguese frontier, where his army would be as serviceable to the cause of Spain as if actually in that country; and accordingly he took post between Merida and Badajoz for some time, until he found it necessary to retire for the defence of Portugal.

In the early part of 1810, the British army was principally about Lisbon, and on the north side of the Tagus; when, having gained a fresh stock of health by good

quarters, they were able, in February, to occupy an extended line, from Santarem on the Tagus to Oporto on the Douro, including Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, and Abrantes; having been joined by the Portuguese, who were now in a great state of discipline, through the exertions of Marshal Beresford; whilst General Hill was in advance, with a considerable body of cavalry on the banks of the Guadiana, in order to check the approach of the enemy, who had appeared before Badajoz. During the operations of the French army against Ciudad Rodrigo, the British and allied army was cantoned in five distinct bodies: one was at Celerico, consisting of about 6000 men, under General Spencer; General Hill had 8000 between the Tagus and Guadiana; General Cole had about 10,000 at Guarda, which was the principal post; General Picton lay with 4000 at Pinhel; and General Craufurd was stationed in advance, between Guarda and the French army.

On the 11th of June 1810, the French invested Ciudad Rodrigo with a force of 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. On the night of the 25th, the batteries were opened against the city; and, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, the governor, Don André Herrasti, seeing no hopes of relief, and his provisions and ammunition being nearly exhausted, surrendered by capitulation, on the 10th of July. The next operation of the enemy was against the fortress of Almeida, the strongest in Portugal. The trenches were opened in the night between the 15th and 16th of August. In the night between the 24th and 25th, the second parallel was opened, in the rock, within less than 150 fathoms of the place. On the 26th, at five A.M. eleven batteries, mounted with 65 pieces of cannon, opened a fire on the fortress, which was returned by the garrison with great vigour. Toward eight P.M. a bomb fell within the walls of the castle, on a caisson which they were filling with gunpowder, at the door of the principal magazine: the flame was communicated to one hundred and fifty thousand weight of powder. The explosion was tremendous. By this accident 900 persons were killed and 400 wounded; of about 400 artillerymen, not one escaped. Next day Marshal Massena went himself to view the effects of the terrible explosion; he immediately ordered the firing to cease, and sent a flag of truce, offering

ing a capitulation: but the terms being such as the governor, General Cox, could not agree to, notwithstanding the terrible catastrophe that had happened, the firing recommenced; and it was not until three hours after, that he would consent to the terms proposed. He then signed the capitulation, and the place was surrendered in the course of the night of the 27th.

By the fall of the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, every obstacle was removed to the entrance of the grand French army into Portugal. It was not the intention of Lord Wellington to act offensively against the enemy with such immense disparity of force; he accordingly formed a series of defensive operations as masterly and profound as ever were recorded. While he was employed in making demonstrations in the frontiers of Spain, immense fortifications were rising in a line from the sea to the Tagus, at a short distance from Lisbon. To these, which were almost impregnable, it was his plan to retreat, where he would be near his resources, and receive reinforcements. After the surrender of Almeida, therefore, he began to retreat slowly and in good order, and to concentrate the different corps of his army, which had been separated for the purpose of guarding and watching various points that were menaced by the French army of Portugal. The troops, with which he made head against Massena at the commencement of the campaign, did not exceed 25,000. On the 19th of September, he occupied an advanced position behind the Alva, at Ponte Murcella.

The British troops, when they began to retreat, destroyed all the bridges and mills on the river Coa. A division of Portuguese militia, under General Miller, occupied the strong fortress of Chaves; another, under General Silviera, lay on the northern banks of the Douro; and another, under General Trent, in the vicinity of St. John of Pesquiera. So that if the French should advance, as was expected, by Viseu, they would be harassed by bodies of Portuguese militia.

While the English army was on its retreat by Ponte Murcella, the whole of the French forces were drawn together in the neighbourhood of Pinhel, to the number of 80,000, in pursuit of it. Lord Wellington had advanced in his retreat two leagues beyond Coimbra: his

left wing occupied the mountains of Ancorba; his right extended to Pen Acova on the Mondego, at the mouth of the Vouga, about fourteen miles in advance of the enemy, who had pushed his advanced guard as far as Pen Aheira of Azore. Behind the mountains of Ancorba, and in a parallel direction, was a road running from north and south, between Coimbra and Sardas, at the northern part of the road, which was occupied by the Portuguese militia under Colonel Trant. A corps of 1000 troops, British and Portuguese, was stationed at Mealhadda, communicating with the forces of Colonel Trant and the main body of the British army. Marshal Beresford, with his corps of disciplined Portuguese, who had arrived on the 22d of September at the Sierra de Bestieros, was stationed at the northern extremity of the mountains of Ancorba; and, by means of the divisions of Colonel Trant and General Spencer, had effected by the road just mentioned a junction with Lord Wellington: who, over and above the advantage of his position in the mountains, brought the Portuguese in the line of his operations, and was nearer to his principal resources, while the distance of Massena from his magazines became greater and greater.

Lord Wellington was accompanied in his retreat by the whole population of Portugal, that lay in his line of march, who destroyed every thing they could not carry away, leaving behind them a complete desert. In the mean time, General Regnier's corps having arrived at Sabugal and Alfaytes on the 12th and 13th of September, the French army moved from Almeida, in great force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, by the towns of Guarda and Celerico. They surmounted the heights, and descended into the valley of the Mondego. On the same day another strong column passed over the heights of Alverca, forming the left of the chain of Guarda and Mayal-Dechara. On the 16th, the British cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, retired from Celerico to the valley of the Mondego. After the fall of Almeida, the plan of Massena was gradually unfolding itself. He seemed determined to turn the left of the allied army; but Lord Wellington, to check him, retired through the valley of Mondego; when Massena, adopting a new route, threw himself into the road that leads from Viseu to Coimbra, in hopes of getting possession of the resources presented
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by that city and its vicinity, and thence to proceed to Lisbon. Lord Wellington immediately determined to cover Coimbra; not with the intention of maintaining that post, but in order to give the inhabitants time to retire with their effects.

Massena arrived at Viseu on the 19th of September, "through ways," as he says, "bristling with rocks, and traversing deserts where no soul was to be seen." At Viseu, all his forces were concentrated on the 21st. Here he was obliged to halt for three days in order to give time for the bringing up the baggage and the artillery; and it was during these three days that Lord Wellington was enabled to execute the judicious and brilliant manœuvre of passing from the left to the right of the Mondego. He posted the central division and the left wing of his army on the Sierra Busaco, which was perpendicular to the course of the Mondego, and covered Coimbra, leaving at Ponte Murcella only the corps under General Hill. Massena left that place on the 24th; and on the 26th arrived in front of the position of Busaco, occupied, with the exception just mentioned, by the allied English and Portuguese armies. The British cavalry observed the plain in the rear of its left. The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge extending from the Mondego in a northerly direction: at the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of Busaco. The Sierra de Busaco is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula; and nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, called the Sierra de Murcella. All the roads to Coimbra, from the eastward, lead over one or other of these Sierras: they are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of each of the ridges on both sides being mountainous. Marshal Massena who was ignorant, perhaps, of the strength of the allies, and probably did not expect to find them there, made a bold attempt to carry their position. On the morning of the 27th of September, at dawn of day, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon the right and centre of the allied army. The French column on the right moved up the hill, receiving the fire of the light troops with great intrepidity, and had gained the summit, when it was charged, whilst deploying into line,
by

by Colonel Mackinnon's brigade, the 45th and 88th regiments, and the 9th Portuguese, directed by Major-General Picton, supported on the right by part of General Leith's corps, and on the left by Major-General Lightburne's brigade, and the Guards, which had moved to the right on the first indication of the enemy's intention. The enemy, foiled in this attack, made another more to the right, where he was again repulsed at the point of the bayonet. This second attack was supported by some heavy artillery; but an ammunition tumbril having blown up, the French ceased their fire on this point. Finding their attack on the right unsuccessful, the enemy directed his principal efforts against the left of the centre; and in a charge made by the 43d and 52d regiments, General Simon was wounded and taken. Brigadier-General Coleman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, moved up to support Brigadier-General Craufurd in this charge, and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, made a gallant and successful charge upon another body of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter. Besides these attacks, the light troops were engaged throughout the day of the 27th. On the following morning, the light infantry were again partially engaged on the left of the line. At mid-day, the enemy's cavalry, and several columns of infantry, were observed in motion on the road from Mortigao over the mountains, towards the Vouga. This movement leading Lord Wellington to conclude that it was the intention of Marshal Massena to place his whole army on the Oporto road, and the position of Busaco being actually turned on the 29th, he recrossed the Mondego, and continued to retreat to the position he had previously determined on, in front of Lisbon, with his right at Alhandra on the Tagus, passing by Torres Vedras, and his left on the sea, where he arrived on the 9th of October.

In his retreat, Lord Wellington was accompanied by the whole of the inhabitants of Coimbra, and of all the other places through which the allied armies passed, every one taking with them their most valuable effects, and destroying whatever might be of use to the invaders. Every soul in Coimbra fled, leaving it literally a desert. The Lisbon road was blocked up with waggons, carts, mules,

mules, horses, and bullocks. Mothers, their eyes streaming with tears, carrying their screaming infants; young women of genteel condition also, in tears, on foot, and separated in the crowd from their families; men with heavy hearts, but in silent sorrow; and every thing wearing an air of trouble and confusion:—such was the miserable picture that presented itself.

All the roads from St. Thomar, and the other neighbouring towns to Lisbon, were in like manner full of men, women, and children, with what effects they could bring along with them.

Yet, dreadful as the scene was, we must recollect that their sufferings on the approach of the French army, if they had remained, would have been infinitely worse; and as their distress was partly incurred in the general cause of the Portuguese nation, so the government, as well as private families in Lisbon, did all they could to alleviate it. An asylum was found for all; lodgings and food were procured, and every thing done which could afford relief: whilst the British House of Commons voted £100,000 for their relief, to which was added an equal sum from private contribution.

In this position of the British army, on the navigable part of the Tagus, the communication, in a military point of view, was now opened with the British fleet lying in that river: and, accordingly, the gun-boats, which Admiral Berkeley had placed under the command of his nephew, Lieutenant Berkeley, had supported the right of the army near Alhandra; and having been several times engaged with the enemy's reconnoitring parties, had been of great service.

Though, in consequence of the retrograde movement of the British army, after the affair of Busaco, the enemy had been enabled to take possession of Coimbra, yet he was not permitted to hold it long: for Colonel Trant having arrived near that place with his detachment on the 7th of October, he immediately attacked the outposts, which he cut off from the town, and then pushing in took possession of it. The resistance made by the enemy did not last long; and the Colonel took eighty officers and five thousand men (principally sick and wounded) prisoners.

The position which the allied army had now taken
was

was a line of strongly fortified heights, extending from Alhandra on the Tagus to Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, and from thence to the mouth of the Sissandro; and, behind these, two other lines of trenches and redoubts extending from Ericeyra and Mafra, on the sea, to the Tagus. One of them, which was next to the fortified line of Torres Vedras, might be defended by 20,000 men; the other, which was nearer Lisbon, by half that number. On these was planted an immense number of heavy artillery. Besides this triple line, redoubts were raised at Penniche, Obidos, and other places. Many of the hills were fortified. On the left of the position, the whole of the coast, from Vimiera to the mouth of the Tagus, was studded with redoubts mounted with heavy artillery. On the right, the banks of the Tagus were flanked by armed boats. Mines also, ready to spring, were formed in various places. In short, the whole country, from Lisbon almost to the Mondego, appeared like one fortification in the form of a crescent. Within the lines of Torres Vedras, Ericeyra, and Mafra, defended by from 70 to 80,000 fighting men, the allies had collected all the produce of the country through which they had retreated. With Lisbon in their rear, they were abundantly supplied with every thing they wanted.

Such was the impregnable situation of Lord Wellington. Massena, having reconnoitred the position of the allies, confined his operations to the fortification of his own, the taking of Montejunto, and the collection of cattle, grain, and raisins, for the subsistence of his army. His quarters, which were limited on one side by the Tagus, were straitened more and more on the north-west by the Portuguese militia. General Silveira occupied with his detachment the roads from Almeida to Francoso, Celerico, and Guarda. Colonel Trant, as we have before observed, by throwing himself in the rear of Massena's army, had entered Coimbra on the 7th of October, and made 5000 prisoners, chiefly the sick and wounded in the battle of Busaco. On the day following, General Wilson arrived there with his detachment: they had taken about 350 waggon-drivers, that had been left behind by the French army at Coimbra for collecting provisions. General Wilson, with a detachment of infantry and

and cavalry, proceeded southwards, by Condeixa, and occupied the road between Coimbra and Leyria.

The Portuguese garrisons of Penniche and Obidos, and the British cavalry, carried on an incessant and destructive warfare in the rear and right of the French. The detachments sent out to hunt for provisions were so closely watched by the Portuguese militia and the British cavalry, on the side of Obidos and Ramalhal, that Massena could not be said to be in possession of any other territory in the whole country than that on which his army was posted. In short, it would be impossible adequately to describe the miseries and privations of the French army at this time, and the deplorable situation they were brought into by the superior skill and dexterity of Lord Wellington. The longer the French lay inactive in front of the British lines, the more their difficulties increased. The heavy rains, falling at that season of the year, rendered it impossible for him to bring up his heavy artillery. He was hemmed in on every side. To attack the allies in their position would have been madness; to retreat northwards, extremely hazardous.

In these circumstances, Massena had only a choice of difficulties: to endeavour, by enlarging his quarters, to maintain himself on the right bank of the Tagus, until he should receive both a reinforcement of men, together with a supply of stores and provisions; or to make a desperate attempt to cross the Tagus, and support himself in the Alentejo. He accordingly took up a fresh position, in pursuance of the former alternative; and looked forward to the reinforcements which he expected from Drouet and Gordonne on the one hand, and from Mortier on the other. Drouet's corps, 12,000 strong, with a large convoy, arrived early in December; and some weeks after, Gordonne, with the same number. Towards the end of the month, detachments from the army of Mortier and that of Soult, to the number of 12 or 14,000, having quitted Andalusia, were on their march on the left of the Tagus, through Estremadura, to join Massena's army.

With this accession of force, a favourable turn seemed to be given to the French army. But, notwithstanding this, Lord Wellington was still resolved to continue his defensive system, never doubting its favourable issue.

He considered that, if the reinforcements sent, or to be sent, should be unable to protect his convoys against the attacks of the allies in flank and rear, and to cover the formation of magazines, they would aggravate the distress arising from want of necessaries, instead of alleviating it.

The ardour and activity of Lord Wellington were suitable to the importance of the crisis. He was very sparing in his diet, and slept in his clothes. He was up every morning at four o'clock; and at five he rode out, and visited his advanced posts. The noble enthusiasm with which he was actuated was infused into his army by sympathy. The whole country, indeed, was under arms. Every thing at Lisbon was military. The city was garrisoned by marines from the English fleet; and the garrison of Lisbon was sent to reinforce the army, which was also augmented by the arrival of 10,000 Spaniards, under the Marquis of Romana. The greater part of the British troops had arrived from Cadiz; and the seamen and marines were also landed from the fleet, to assist in working the guns in the batteries. The banks of the Tagus, on the right of the British lines, were flanked by the armed launches, and seven sloops of war were sent up the river; whilst extensive works were raised on the south side of the Tagus, to cover the river and protect the shipping. On the same side of the river too, the peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay at Moita, near Aldea Gallega on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes at Sittual, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, mounted with heavy artillery, and manned partly by a body of 3000 seamen; so that the enemy could not advance to Almeida, opposite to Lisbon. The corps of General Hill and Marshal Beresford were posted on the south bank of the river; while in front of the grand line of Torres Vedras, Lord Wellington lay, with the main body of the British army at Cartaxo. The British fleet lay between; and, on whichever side an attack might be made, was ready to bring over reinforcements from the other.

In this situation, then, were the two contending armies at the close of the year 1810; and the whole world remained in anxious suspense as to the issue of their future operations. The forces, by the accession of the English

English reinforcements, appear to have been nearly equal, amounting on either side to about 80 or 90,000 men; but the advantage of position was clearly on the side of the allies, owing to that extraordinary foresight of their illustrious leader, who had long before contemplated that situation of affairs which we are now describing. Lord Wellington had the capital behind him, with its noble port, which could furnish not only his army but the whole population with supplies of all kinds. Massena, on the contrary, was lying in an already devastated country, remote from all sources of regular supply, and obliged to depend upon the precarious aid of convoys for the safe transmission of such scanty collections of provision as could be made in the surrounding districts.

These difficulties of Massena at last compelled him to abandon all thoughts of driving his illustrious rival and his brave army into the sea, and of planting the French eagles on the walls of Lisbon, which he had boasted of doing; and he had now only to occupy himself in bringing off the French army in as good a condition as possible. Accordingly, on the night of the 5th of March, he quitted his strong camp at Santarem, and began his celebrated retreat from Portugal, leaving behind and destroying some of his heavy artillery and ammunition.

The first movements of the French indicated an intention of collecting a force at Thomar. Lord Wellington therefore caused a detachment of Marshal Beresford's corps to march in that direction, whilst he himself put the main army in motion to follow the enemy. Massena however proceeded for the Mondego, retreating from the country as he entered it, in one solid mass, and covering his rear with one or two divisions.

The allied army pressed closely upon the retiring French, bringing them to action whenever an opportunity offered, and occasionally killing and taking prisoners a considerable number. By this close pursuit of the enemy, Coimbra and Upper Beiria were preserved from the enemy's ravages; and they were obliged to take the road towards the Spanish frontier, with no other provisions than what they acquired upon the spot. They facilitated their retreat by abandoning their wounded, and destroying their baggage and whatever else could

encumber their march. They were successively driven from various strong positions, but retained in force one upon the Guarda, till the close of March; when, upon the advance of the allies, they retired without firing a shot, to Sabugal on the Coa; upon the banks of which river, which flows near and parallel to the Spanish border, they took a new position. Here they were attacked on the 3d of April, by the allied troops in several divisions, when a sharp action ensued, which terminated in the retreat of the French, with a loss of about two hundred killed and three hundred prisoners.

Finding themselves thus closely harassed, the enemy continued their retreat during all the succeeding night and the next morning; and entered on the frontiers of Spain on the 4th, thus leaving Portugal free. They continued their retreat, and crossed the Agueda a few days after; whilst the allied army took up their position upon the Duas Casas, a post which General Craufurd had occupied with his advanced guard during the latter part of the preceding siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the advanced posts were soon pushed as far forward as the banks of the Agueda.

The joy of the Portuguese at this deliverance of their country was excessive. *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches; the city of Lisbon was splendidly illuminated; the Regency of Portugal sent the most flattering addresses to Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, for the great and eminent services they had performed for their country.

Lord Wellington, about the latter end of April, having made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and having reason to believe that the enemy's army would not be in a situation for some time to attempt the relief of that fortress, even if they should be so inclined, took the advantage of this momentary discontinuance of active operations with respect to his own army, to proceed for Estremadura, to the corps under Marshal Beresford.

During this temporary absence of Lord Wellington, the enemy had made two unsuccessful attacks on the English picquets upon the Azava, and had collected a very large force at Ciudad Rodrigo, the head-quarters of Massena's army. On the 2d of May, the whole French army, consisting of the 2d, 6th, and 8th corps, with all the cavalry
that

that could be collected in the provinces of Castille and Leon, recrossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, and advanced toward the allied army, posted between the Coa and the Agueda, for the purpose of blockading Almeida.

In consequence of this movement, the whole of the allied army in the north of Portugal was concentrated betwixt the villages of Fuentes de Honor, in Spain, and Villa Formosa, in Portugal, two leagues from Almeida, and four from Ciudad Rodrigo. In the course of the following day, the enemy (in number 40,000 infantry, and 4500 cavalry) arrived in the plain on the other side of Fuentes; the light division and the British cavalry gradually retiring before him as he advanced. On the same afternoon the enemy attacked the village of Fuentes de Honor with large bodies of troops; and the contest for this important place was maintained with great vigour on both sides until night, when the British kept possession.

At day-break on the 5th (the enemy having employed the preceding day in making a reconnoissance), it was discovered that he had moved the whole of his cavalry, and the 8th corps, in two columns on the opposite side of Duas Casas to Poyo Velha, and that the 6th and 9th corps had also made a movement to their left. About six o'clock his manœuvres seemed to indicate an attack on that point; and the cavalry, deriving confidence from their numbers, advanced upon the British, which was their weak arm, and compelled them to give way, but, in retreating, the British cavalry repeatedly faced about, and made some successful charges upon the enemy. Meanwhile the 7th division, which had been considerably advanced on the plain near Poyo Velha, retired in good order; and Major-General Houston was enabled to execute this retrograde movement principally by the steadiness and gallantry of the two foreign corps in his division, the Duke of Brunswick Oel's infantry, and the Chasseurs Britanniques, who checked the advance of the French cavalry by several well-directed volleys. The line was now formed with the 7th division, across the Turon, in rear of the right of the 1st division, the light division and cavalry being in reserve. Beyond, on the ridge betwixt the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, were the divisions of Major-General Picton, A. Campbell, and Sir William Erskine; the left of the whole was on Fort Conception,

ception, covering Almeida. In taking up this position Lord Wellington abandoned one of the objects he had originally in view, to keep up the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, which was, however, found to be incompatible with the blockade of Almeida.

The enemy's efforts on the right of the position, as now described, were confined to a cannonade and some charges with their cavalry upon the advanced posts. The picquets of the 1st division repulsed one of these; but, as they were falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form and oppose it; in consequence, Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, commanding the picquet of the Guards, was taken, and several killed and wounded, before a detachment of British cavalry could be moved up to their support. The 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, commanded by Lord Blantyre, repulsed a charge of the cavalry directed against them. About the same time, the enemy pushed forward his light infantry upon the right, where they were met and repulsed by Colonel Guise, with the light companies of the guards, and part of the 95th regiment, under Captain O'Hara.

The principal contest was in the village of Fuentes de Honor, the possession of which was of the utmost importance to either army, and of this the British general was well aware. Colonel Cameron was mortally wounded, at the head of the 79th regiment of Highlanders, in defending this village. The hostile armies remained in front of each other on the two following days; and, in the afternoon of the 7th, were employed in burying their dead. During this interval, parties were continually occupied in strengthening the position of the British, by throwing up field-works.

On the 8th, the enemy collected the whole of their army, with the exception of part of the second corps, which remained opposite Almeida, in the woods near Gallegos. On the 9th, the enemy continued his retreat, covered by his numerous cavalry. On the 10th, the British broke up from their position, and while the light division, supported by the cavalry, advanced towards the Agueda, the rest of the army returned to cantonments, and the original investment of Almeida was resumed.

The garrison of Almeida, commanded by General Brennier, finding all hopes of a relief at an end, evacuated

ated the place on the night of the 10th of May, after having blown up a part of the works. They marched in great silence, dextrously winding their way through the several bodies of blockaders, so as not to be perceived till they had nearly reached the bridge over the Agueda. They were pursued, however, as soon as the alarm was given, and incurred a considerable loss; but the remainder were protected by a French division, which had not yet quitted the banks of that river. The whole of the French army then continued its retreat towards the Tormes.

Previous to the commencement of Massena's retreat from Santarem, Marshals Soult and Mortier advanced from the south of Spain, in order to form a combined operation with the army of Portugal. In pursuance of this object, they attacked and defeated the Spanish army, under General Mendizabel, and forthwith invested Badajoz. Marshal Beresford, with the 2d division of the allied army, was directed to march to the relief of this city, and was reinforced with the 4th division under General Cole, as soon as Lord Wellington was confirmed in his opinion that Massena's retreat was a decided one. Badajoz, however, was surrendered by General Juaz on the 10th of March, although apprised that Marshal Beresford was marching to his relief. On the 25th of the same month, Sir William Beresford advanced against Campo-Mayor, and found the enemy's corps, consisting of four regiments of cavalry, three battalions of infantry, and some horse artillery, drawn up on the outside of the town. Two squadrons of the 13th dragoons, and two squadrons of Portuguese, charged the French cavalry, who were broke and pursued to Badajoz; but the infantry effected their retreat in a solid body, although with considerable loss, and recovered 16 pieces of cannon, which had been taken by the allied cavalry.

On the 7th of May, Badajoz was invested by Marshal Beresford's army, in conjunction with a Spanish corps, commanded by Don Carlos D'Espagne. On the following day the batteries were opened against Fort St. Christoval, and a very brisk fire was returned by the garrison. Marshal Beresford having received information on the 12th, that Marshal Soult was advancing from Seville, sent a courier to Lord Wellington with that intelligence. Without a moment's delay, his Lordship set out on the following

following morning for Villa Formosa, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th; when he found that Marshal Beresford, in consequence of Soult's advance, had raised the siege of Badajoz, but without the loss of ordnance, or stores of any description, and had formed a junction with the Spanish generals Castanos and Blake, at Albuera, on the 15th.

On the morning of the 16th, he drew up his troops in two lines. The French were not long in commencing their attack; and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, which lasted nearly the whole day, Soult was compelled to retire; and, on the night of the 17th, he commenced his retreat towards Seville by the road he had come, leaving Badajoz to its own defence, and relinquishing many of his wounded to the care of the victors.

Lord Wellington, who had repaired to Elvas, but was unable to arrive in time for the battle, directed that Badajoz should be closely invested upon the right of the Guadiana on May 25th, and afterwards renewed the operations of the siege. The enemy had withdrawn their main body upon Llerena, and had their advanced posts of cavalry at Usagre; near which place, on the 25th, the allied cavalry fell in with that of the French, and charged them, though much superior in number, with so much gallantry, that they were driven from the field with considerable loss.

In the early part of June, the operations were carried on with vigour, so that by the 6th of that month two breaches had been made, but neither of them practicable for an assault.

On the 6th, the fire from the outwork of St. Christoval being considered as likely to impede the progress of the siege, Lord Wellington directed that an attempt should be made to carry it by storm that night. Major-General Houstoun, who conducted the operation on the right of the Guadiana, accordingly ordered a detachment under Major Macintosh, of the 85th regiment, to proceed on that service. The troops advanced under a very heavy fire of musquetry and hand-grenades from the outwork, and of shot and shells from the town, with the utmost intrepidity and the best order, to the bottom of the breach, the advanced guard being led by Ensign Dyas, of the 51st regiment, who volunteered to perform that duty:
but

but they found that the enemy had cleared the rubbish from the bottom of the escarpe; and, notwithstanding that they were provided with ladders, it was impossible to mount it, and they retired, with loss. After three days' continual cannonade, the breach in the wall of St. Christoval again appearing practicable, his Lordship directed that a second attempt should be made on the night of the 9th, and another detachment was ordered for the service, under the command of Major M'Geachy, of the 17th Portuguese regiment, when Ensign Dyas again volunteered to lead the advance: but, on advancing, at nine at night, they met with the same opposition as before, and on their arrival at the foot of the breach, found that the rubbish had been a second time completely cleared away. Major M'Geachy was killed, and several of the other officers fell; yet the troops still maintained their position, although to mount was impracticable, until Major-General Houstoun sent orders for them to retire.

Lord Wellington had expected that Badajoz would have fallen by the second week in June, at which time he supposed that the reinforcements for the enemy's southern army, detached from Castille, would join Marshal Soult. On the 10th, he received an intercepted dispatch from Soult to Marmont, announcing the intention of collecting the whole French force in Estremadura; and he had reason to believe that Drouet's corps from Toledo would have joined the southern army by the 10th. Accounts also reached him, which left no doubt of the destination of the French army of Portugal for the southward. It became therefore absolutely necessary to raise the siege of Badajoz, which Lord Wellington put in execution, still, however, maintaining a blockade. The advance of the enemy finally determined him to quit the blockade, and to withdraw the allied troops across the Guadiana, which was effected on the 17th, without any loss.

On the 20th, the French began to appear in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, with an army composed of all their force from Castille, except the garrison of Madrid, and all that of Andalusia, with the exception of what was necessary to maintain their position before Cadiz, and the body commanded by Sebastiani in the eastern part of Spain. They occupied both banks of the Guadiana, from Badajoz to Merida, and made various movements towards

the frontiers of Portugal, with the intention of cutting off detachments of the allies, but with inconsiderable success.

On July the 14th, the army of Portugal broke up from its position on the Guadiana, and moved towards Truxillo, whence they afterwards marched further northwards. Lord Wellington, who had been strongly posted on the Portuguese frontier in Alentejo, now moved his army to cantonments in Lower Beiria; and thus the seat of war was transferred from the neighbourhood of Badajoz.

Lord Wellington, ever active and upon the alert, having quitted his cantonments in Beiria, advanced to the Spanish frontier, determined to keep the enemy upon the watch, and compel them, as much as possible, to keep their forces in a body; by which means he in a great measure preserved the country from heavy contributions, and also kept his own army in an active and efficient state. Having therefore advanced to between the Coa and the Agueda, and threatened Ciudad Rodrigo, this movement produced the effect of collecting the enemy's troops from the army of the north, where an attack had been commenced upon the Spaniards in Galicia, and also from that which, on the frontiers of Navarre, had been employed against De Mina, together with a great part of the army of Portugal, composing altogether a force of not less than 60,000 men.

The French appeared in the plain near Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 23d of September; and, on the 25th, they made a general attack on the posts of the allied army on the heights of El Boden, which, after much sharp skirmishing, terminated in an orderly retreat of the allies to a more favourable position. Another, but inferior action, took place on the 27th, at Aldea de Ponte. The result of the whole was, that Lord Wellington found it necessary to quit the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo; and the enemy, having thrown supplies into the place, again withdrew behind the Agueda; and Lord Wellington placed his army into winter-quarters*.

* A rather curious circumstance happened to General Regnaud, the governor of Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 15th of October, an ambuscade having been placed near the town for the purpose of intercepting the cattle of the garrison, the governor, who had crossed the Agueda with some staff-officers and an escort, was surrounded by the Spanish cavalry, and taken prisoner.

At this period, several distinguished foreign honours were bestowed on his Grace the Duke of Wellington; and on the 26th of October, a royal licence was gazetted, permitting his Grace (who for some time had been constituted Marshal-General of the Portuguese army) to accept the title of Condé de Vimiera, and also the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Portuguese military order of the Tower and Sword, conferred upon him by the Prince Regent of Portugal in testimony of the high estimation in which his Royal Highness held his distinguished and glorious services on various important occasions.

Whilst the two hostile armies were lying inactive, and watching each other's movements, some partial affairs took place between detached corps, one of which is deserving of notice. A division of the fifth corps of the French army, with a considerable body of cavalry, under General Girard, having crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and advanced upon Cacares, Lord Wellington directed General Hill to move into Estremadura with the troops under his command. He accordingly marched by Aldea del Cano to Alcuesca; and, on the 27th of October, having information that the enemy were in motion, he proceeded through Aldea, being a shorter route than that taken by the French, and affording a hope of being able to intercept him and bring him to action. On his march he learned, that Girard had halted his main body at Arroyo de Molinos, leaving a rear-guard at Albala; which was to General Hill a satisfactory proof that he was ignorant of the movements of the allied detachment. General Hill, therefore, determined to surprise him; and, accordingly, made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On his arrival at this place, which is not more than a league from Arroyo, General Hill was more fully convinced that Girard was ignorant of his movements, and also extremely off his guard; he determined, therefore, upon attempting to surprise him, or at least to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The ground over which the troops were to manœuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees,

General Hill's object was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy either to Truxillo or Merida: he, therefore, moved the army from their bivouac (or resting-place without tents) near Alcuesca, about two in the morning of the 28th, in one column right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molino. On arriving within half a mile of the town, when under cover of a low ridge, the column closed and divided into three columns; the infantry being on the right and left, and the cavalry occupying the centre. As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced according to the concerted plan; the left column proceeding for the town, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart; the 71st, and part of the 60th and 92d, at a greater distance; and the 50th, in close column, somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve. The right column, under Major-General Howard, having the 39th regiment in reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and, having gained about the distance of a cannon-shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the troops: whilst the cavalry, under Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The advance of the British columns was unperceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment they were filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of the column, some of the cavalry, and part of the baggage, being still within it. He was therefore thrown into complete confusion by the attack; and, after a gallant but ineffectual resistance, was finally obliged to disperse and take to the mountains, sustaining a loss, in slain and prisoners, of at least 2000 men; a general and colonel of cavalry being amongst the captives. All the enemy's artillery, baggage, commissariat, and some magazines of corn, also fell into the hands of the victors; and no action during the campaign was attended with more brilliant and complete success.

Lord Wellington, who had (as we have seen) placed his troops in cantonments in Beiria, to recover from their sickness and fatigue, again, at the commencement of 1812, put his army in motion, and, as early as the 8th of January,

January, commenced his investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been lately considerably strengthened: for, since the French had got possession of it, they had constructed a pallisadoed redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, and fortified three convents in the suburb, the defences of which were connected with the new work on the hill of St. Francisco, and with the whole line by which the suburb was surrounded. By these means they had increased the difficulty of approaching the place, and it was necessary to obtain possession of the work on the hill of St. Francisco before any progress could be made in the attack.

Accordingly Major-General Craufurd, who was in charge of the advanced operations, directed a detachment of the light division, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Colbourne of the 52d, to attack the work shortly after dark; which was executed in a very able style, the whole being carried by storm, two captains and forty-seven men taken prisoners, and the rest of the garrison put to the sword during the assault. The loss of the assailants was but trifling; and they took three pieces of cannon.

As the possession of Ciudad Rodrigo was of the utmost consequence to the ulterior operations of the allies, the siege was pushed on with great vigour; and, by the 20th, Lord Wellington was enabled to transmit the gratifying intelligence of its capture by storm by the British army.

It appears, that the fire of the batteries having considerably injured the defences of the place, and made breaches which were regarded as practicable, Lord Wellington determined on the assault, though the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp was still entire.

Agreeably to this determination, the grand assault was made on the evening of the 19th in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3d and light divisions, and of Brigadier-General Pack's brigade. The two light columns conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Toole of the 2d Portuguese Caçadores, and Major Ridge of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, forming the third, to the top of the breach in the *fausse braye* wall;

wall ; and all those, being composed of troops of the 3d division, were under the direction of Lieutenant-General Picton.

The fourth column, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division under the direction of Major-General Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left, in front of the suburb of San Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3d division ; and Brigadier-General Pack was destined with his brigade, forming the 5th column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort.

Besides these five columns, the 95th regiment, belonging to the 3d division, descended into the ditch, in two columns, on the right of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch, and its attack of the breach in the *fausse braye*, against the obstacles which his Lordship supposed the enemy would perhaps construct to oppose the progress of the brigade in that particular quarter.

In every arrangement for this awful business, the comprehensive mind of the commander-in-chief most powerfully shews itself. Every thing was foreseen, every thing provided for ; nothing was left for the officers and troops but to execute : yet to one division of them we must allow the credit of having done even more than their general required, or than even Wellington himself had calculated on. For his Lordship observed, that all the attacks had succeeded ; but that Brigadier-General Pack had even surpassed his expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one, his advanced guard under the gallant Major Lynch having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the *fausse braye*, where they made prisoners all who opposed them !

Every thing being prepared, and the *awful* moment of advance arrived, the troops pushed on for the principal breach ; when Major Ridge of the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, with his gallant party, escalated the *fausse braye* wall, and stormed rapidly through the breach into the body of the place. He was accompanied by the 94th regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time

time, and had stormed the breach in the *fausse braye*, both in front of Major-General Mackinnon's brigade. By these rapid movements, these two gallant regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of the brigade under the Major-General, but also preceded the brigade in its point of attack.

Major-General Craufurd, and Major-General Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were at this moment very forward on that side; and, in less than half an hour from the commencement of the assault, the troops were in possession of, and formed on the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other; when the enemy submitted, having sustained a very serious loss in the contest.

The loss of the British on this occasion was very considerable. Major-General Mackinnon was killed by the explosion of a magazine close to the breach. The success of this enterprise put the victors in possession of 153 pieces of cannon, including the heavy train of the French army, with a great quantity of ammunition and stores; and there were surrendered with the governor, above 78 officers, and 1700 men.

By this prompt and decisive mode of action, so illustrative of the character of the noble subject of our biography, he became possessed of the strong fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. Marshal Marmont, who now commanded the French army, could not conceive it possible that so strong a place could be taken in so short a time: he had assembled the whole of his army at Salamanca on the 22d, for the purpose of relieving it, and giving battle to the English; but the unexpected and sudden surrender of the place quite disconcerted all his measures. As soon as this event was known to the Spanish nation, the Cortes, by acclamation, voted to Lord Wellington the rank of Grandee of the first class, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. Nor was his own country backward in testifying its gratitude for his eminent services; for his Royal Highness the Prince Regent immediately created him Earl of Wellington, in addition to his other titles and honours.

His Lordship, now the Earl of Wellington, remained some time at Ciudad Rodrigo in order to repair the fortifications, and put it in a defensible state; and then, placing

placing it under the command of a Spanish governor, he withdrew to Freynada.

Badajoz was the next object of his arms; and, after making every preparation, he moved from Freynada on the 6th of March, and arrived at Elvas on the 11th. At this time there were none of the enemy's troops in the field in Estremadura, except a part of the 5th corps at Villa Franca, and a division under General Darican at La Serena. On the 15th and 16th his Lordship broke up the cantonments of the army, and invested Badajoz on both sides of the Guadiana on the 16th. On the following day, the troops broke ground, and established a parallel within two hundred yards of an outwork called the Picorina, which embraced the whole of the south-east angle of the fort, and looked into the place.

At the time of the investment, General Sir Thomas Graham crossed the Guadiana with a body of troops, and directed his march towards Llerena; whilst Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, who had returned from Miranda to his cantonments near Albuquerque, marched again to that town.

The operations of the siege were continued, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, from the 20th to the 25th of March. On the latter day, Lord Wellington opened his fire from 28 pieces of ordnance, in six batteries; and, the same evening, the outwork La Picorina was stormed and carried by Major-General Kempt, after dark, in the most gallant manner.

On the 31st of March, the firing commenced from the second parallel, with 26 pieces of cannon, in order to effect a breach in the south-east angle of the fort called La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion by which that face was defended, called Santa Maria. The fire was continued during the 4th and 5th of April, against these points; and on the morning of the 4th another battery of six guns was opened.

Practicable breaches were effected in the bastions above-mentioned on the evening of the 5th; but Lord Wellington, having observed that the enemy had entrenched the bastion of La Trinidad, and that the most formidable preparations were making for the defence as well of the breach in that bastion as of that of the bastion of Santa Maria, determined to turn all the guns in
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the batteries of the second parallel on the curtain of La Trinidad, in hopes that, by effecting a third breach, the troops would be enabled to turn the enemy's works for the defence of the other two, the attack of which would besides be connected by the troops destined to assail the breach in the curtain. This breach was effected on the evening of the 6th; and the fire of the face of the bastion of Santa Maria, and of the flank of the bastion of La Trinidad, being overcome, Lord Wellington determined on an immediate assault of the fortress.

No event of his Lordship's military career evinced more judgment and decision than the plan for the reduction of this important place; and the gallant officers and soldiers under his command displayed the most heroic intrepidity in its execution.

The attack was made at ten at night; Lieutenant-General Picton preceding by a few minutes that of the remainder of the troops. Major-General Kempt led the attack: he was unfortunately wounded in crossing the Rivellas brook below the inundation; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the most obstinate resistance, the castle was carried by escalade, and General Picton's division established in it by half-past eleven. Whilst this was going on, Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, carried the ravelin of St. Roque by the gorge, with a detachment of 200 men of the Guards in the trenches; and, with the assistance of Major Squire, of the engineers, established himself within that work. The 4th and light divisions moved to the attack, from the camp, along the left of the river Rivellas, and of the inundation. They were not perceived by the enemy till they reached the covered way, and the advanced guards of the two divisions descended without difficulty into the ditch, protected by the fire of the parties stationed on the glacis for that purpose. They advanced to the assault of the breaches, led by their gallant officer, with the utmost intrepidity; but such was the nature of the obstacles prepared at the top and behind the breaches, and so determined their resistance, that the British could not establish themselves within the place. These attempts were repeated till after midnight, with the loss of many brave officers and soldiers; when Lord Wellington, finding that success was not to be attained, and that General Picton was established in

the castle, ordered the fourth and light divisions to retire to the ground on which they had assembled for the attack. In the mean-time, Major-General Leith had pushed forward Major-General Walker's brigade on the left, and made a false attack upon the Pardeleras with the 8th Portuguese Caçadores under Major Hill. General Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivenza, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of St. Vincent, close to the Guadiana: he there descended into the ditch, and escalated the face of the bastion. In consequence of this success, all resistance ceased; and at day-light in the morning, General Philippon, who had retired to Fort St. Christoval, surrendered, together with General Vellande, the staff, and the whole garrison.

Though Lord Wellington had found it impossible to get correct accounts of the strength of the garrison, yet he was informed by General Philippon, that it consisted of 5000 men at the commencement of the siege, of whom 1200 were killed or wounded during the operations, independent of those who fell in the assault of the place. It is evident, however, that the number must have been greater, for there were upwards of 4000 prisoners taken; and the garrison at first had consisted of five French battalions, besides two of the regiment of Hesse d'Armstadt, as well as the artillery, engineers, &c. The total British loss, during the siege, amounted to 60 officers, 45 serjeants, 715 rank and file, killed; 251 officers, 178 serjeants, 14 drummers, 2564 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 32 rank and file, missing. On the side of the Portuguese, there were 12 officers, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 195 rank and file, killed; with 55 officers, 38 serjeants, 3 drummers, 684 rank and file, wounded; 30 rank and file, missing. Making in the whole 1035 killed, and 3787 wounded, between the 18th of March and the 7th of April.

This loss on the part of the allies may be considered severe, but not greater than might be expected from the nature of the service they were engaged in. The glory the allies gained by the taking of two such strong places as Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and the security to Portugal in possessing these fortresses, was not too dearly purchased by the sacrifices that were made.

In order to make a diversion in favour of Badajoz,
Marshal

Marshal Marmont advanced to Ciudad Rodrigo, and kept it blockaded: at the same time, a French party made a reconnoissance upon Almeida, but were so received that they had no inclination to make an attempt upon the place. On the 7th of April, Marmont broke up from the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, and proceeded to Sabugal. His advanced guard followed General Alten through the Lower Beiria, as far as Castello Branco, which it entered on the 12th; but whence it retired on the 14th, and the place was repossessed by General Alten and General Le Cor.

Marshal Soult, who had advanced from Seville into Estremadura, as far as Villa Franca, on hearing of the fall of Badajoz, retreated on the 9th towards the borders of Andalusia. General Graham directed Sir Stapleton Cotton to follow his rear with the cavalry; and coming up with the French cavalry at Villa Garcia, with the brigade of General Le Marchant and General Anson, he defeated them on the 11th, with considerable loss in killed and prisoners. The French retired on that day from Llerena, and afterwards entirely quitted Estremadura. Lord Wellington, as soon as he was apprised of Soult's retreat, put his army in motion towards Castille: and, on the 16th of April, the British advanced guard was at Castello Branco.

As the British army continued its march towards Alfayates, the enemy kept retiring before them. The last of them crossed the Agueda on the 23d of April; and, on the following day, they were in full retreat towards the Tormes.

The heavy rains which had fallen before the 13th and 19th, had produced such torrents in the rivers, as to carry away the bridge which they had constructed on the Agueda immediately above Ciudad Rodrigo; but they were enabled to repair it before the pursuing British came up, and the leading divisions of their army crossed by the Puente d' el Villar, and the fords of the Upper Agueda; the rear only taking advantage of the bridge near Ciudad Rodrigo.

Up to the latter end of April the enemy continued their retreat; and as soon as Lord Wellington was certain of their having retired beyond the frontier, he directed Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to carry into exe-

cution - plan of operations against their posts and establishments at the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, in Estremadura, near the border of New Castille. This post afforded the only good military communication below Toledo across the Tagus, and from that river to the Guadiana. The bridge at Almaraz was protected by strong works thrown up by the French on both sides of the river; and was further covered on the southern side by the castle and redoubts of Mirabete, about a league distant, commanding the pass of that name, through which runs the only carriage-way to the bridge, which is that to Madrid.

Owing to the necessary preparations for this expedition, Sir Rowland could not begin his march before the 12th of May, which he did with the 2d division of infantry, and attained his objects by taking by storm Fort Napoleon and Ragusa, and the *tete-du-pont* and other works by which the enemy's work was guarded; by destroying those forts and works, as well as the bridge and establishments; and by the capture of their magazines, with 250 prisoners and 18 pieces of cannon.

The success of this operation completely deprived the enemy of the best and shortest communications between the army of the south and the army of Portugal; and therefore a leading incident in those manœuvres which enabled his Lordship to catch Marmont single-handed at the gallant affair of Salamanca.

We now return to the army under Lord Wellington, which had been for some time advancing. It crossed the Agueda on the 13th of June, and arrived in front of Salamanca on the 16th. The enemy, on the approach of the allied army, retreated across the Tormes, leaving about 800 men in some forts constructed upon the ruins of colleges and convents in Salamanca. The allies entered the city; but Lord Wellington found it necessary to break ground against the forts. The joy of the inhabitants of Salamanca, on the entrance of the allies, can hardly be conceived; and Lord Wellington was hailed with raptures, as their deliverer from French oppression.

The enemy retired by the road to Toro, with the intention of collecting their army on the Douro. Having assembled his whole army, with the exception of General Bonnet's division, and a few small garrisons in different places,

places, he moved forward against the allies on the 20th of June, in order to communicate with the forts in Salamanca; and, on the night of the 21st, his troops established a post on the right flank of the allied army. Lord Wellington having directed General Graham to attack this post on the 22d, the enemy were driven from the ground with considerable loss.

The enemy then made a fresh movement, the object of which was to communicate with the forts by the left bank of the Tormes, which river they crossed in force on the 24th; but the approach of General Graham on that side the river caused them to retire to their former position. The batteries against the forts of Salamanca began to fire on the 17th; but the operations did not proceed with that rapidity that Lord Wellington had expected. An attempt to storm the principal work on the night of the 23d, failed of success with considerable loss, Major-General Bowes being among the slain. Notwithstanding this failure, every exertion was made to reduce the forts, and thereby enable the army to undertake ulterior operations. Accordingly, on the 26th, in the afternoon, a fresh supply of ammunition having arrived, the fire was immediately recommenced upon the gorge of the redoubt of San Cayetano, in which a practicable breach was effected at about ten o'clock of the morning of the 27th; and the assailants had succeeded nearly about the same time in setting fire to the buildings in the large fort of St. Vincent, by the fire from which the approach to San Cayetano by its gorge was defended.

The Earl of Wellington seized on the eventful moment, and instantly gave directions that the forts of St. Cayetano and La Merced should be stormed; but some little delay occurred, in consequence of the commanding officers of these forts in the first instance, and afterwards the commanding officer of St. Vincent, having expressed a desire to capitulate after the lapse of a certain number of hours. As it was obvious, however, that those propositions were made in order to gain time till the fire of St. Vincent should be extinguished, his Lordship refused to listen to any terms, unless the forts should be instantly surrendered; and having found the commanding officer of St. Cayetano, who was the first to offer to surrender,

surrender, was entirely dependent upon the Governor of St. Vincent, and could not venture to carry into execution the capitulation which he had offered to make, the Earl immediately gave directions that the storming of that fort, and also of La Merced, should instantly take place.

This gallant assault was performed in the most undaunted manner by detachments of the 6th division, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davies of the 36th regiment, under the direction of Major-General Clinton. The troops entered the fort of St. Cayetano by the gorge, and escalated that of La Merced.

The Governor of the fort of St. Vincent then sent a flag of truce, the storming of the fort having commenced, to notify the surrender of that fortress, on the terms that had been previously offered. These were, that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, that they should be prisoners of war, &c.

These forts were found to be so strongly constructed that they could not possibly be taken without a regular attack: the loss of the allies in killed and wounded was above 450 men.

As soon as the enemy heard of the fall of the forts, they immediately broke up, and retired in three columns towards the Douro; one of them directing its march upon Toro, and the others upon Tordesillas.

On the 28th Lord Wellington also broke up the cantonments of the allied army; and on the 30th of June they were encamped on the Guarena.

On the 1st of July the allies broke up their encampment; and, the enemy having retired from Alaejos, they encamped that evening on the Trabancos, with the advanced guard upon Nava del Rey. The Earl of Wellington having there got information that Marmont had destroyed the bridge of Tordesillas, he immediately gave orders for the British advanced guard to cross the Zapardiel, and to move upon Rueda, which took place on the morning of the 2d, supported by the left, whilst the right and centre of the army moved towards Medina del Campo.

It appeared however, soon after, that the enemy had not destroyed the bridge, as reported; but that their
main

main body had retired upon Tordesillas, whilst their rear-guard was left at Rueda.

On this, Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton immediately attacked their rear-guard with Major-Generals Anson's and Alten's brigades of cavalry, and drove them in upon the main body at Tordesillas. As the right and centre of the British army were, however, at some distance, Lord Wellington was unable to bring up a sufficient body of troops in time to attack the enemy during their passage of the Douro; and accordingly they effected that operation with but little loss, taking their position on that river, with their right on the heights opposite Pollos, their centre at Tordesillas, and their left at Simancos in the Pisuerga.

His Lordship on the next day, the 3d of July, moved his left to Pollos, and obtained possession of the ford over the Douro at that place, in front of the positions of Marmont's right; but as the ford was scarcely practicable for infantry, and the enemy's corps were strongly posted, with a considerable quantity of artillery, on those heights already mentioned, which commanded the plain on which the British troops must have formed after crossing the ford, and as at the same time he could not with propriety establish the army on the right of the Douro until he had adequate means of passing that river, he did not at that moment think it prudent to push the advanced corps any farther. On the 7th the French army was reinforced by the junction of General Bonnet, who had advanced from Asturias.

In the course of the 15th and 16th of July, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman. A considerable body then passed the Douro at Toro on the 16th, when Lord Wellington immediately moved the allied army to their left on that night, with an intention to concentrate on the Guarena; however, he recrossed the Douro at Toro on the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the river on the morning of the 17th, and there again assembled his army at Nava del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th.

Various movements then succeeded between the two armies;

armies; and the French, on the 18th, made an attack on a body stationed at Castregon, under the command of Sir Stapleton Cotton, who resisted till the cavalry joined him, and then retreated in excellent order, to the main army on the Guarena. The enemy then crossed that river, and indicated an intention of pressing upon the left of the allied army; but which object Lord Wellington perceived, and defeated, by directing Lieutenant-General Cole to attack the enemy's infantry, who were supporting their cavalry. General Cole immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, Colonel Stubb's Portuguese brigade supporting; and the enemy gave way. In this affair a French general was taken, with other prisoners. A variety of other movements were made; in which it was the object of Marmont to cut off the allies from their communication with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, and of Lord Wellington to frustrate this purpose.

On the 21st, the allied army was concentrated on the left bank of the Tormes; and the enemy had moved towards the same river. It was evident by these movements of the two armies, that a battle could not long be delayed, and that the fate of Spain must in a great measure depend upon its result.

On the morning of the 22d of July, the day on which the grand battle of Salamanca was fought, the British hero placed his troops in a position, of which the right was upon one of the two heights called the Dos Arepiles, and the left on the Tormes, below the ford of Santa Martha. In the course of the night preceding, Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Chauvel had arrived at Pollos with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the north to join Marshal Marmont, which junction his Lordship was aware would be effected on the 22d or 23d at the latest; it therefore became a point of the utmost consequence to engage before these troops arrived.

On the 21st, in the evening, Marmont crossed the Tormes with the greatest part of his troops, by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, moving by the left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo. After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appeared to have determined upon the plan of attack about

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two in the afternoon of the 22d; and, under cover of a heavy cannonade (which, however, did but very little damage), he extended his left and moved forward, apparently with an intention to embrace, by this position of his troops, and by his fire, the post of the allied army on the Arapiles, and from thence to break and attack the line, or, at all events, to render difficult any movement of the British to their right. This movement of Marmont was the immediate cause of his defeat. Lord Wellington, who had long been anxious for an opportunity of attacking the enemy, immediately seized the favourable moment, which this extension of his line gave him. He therefore immediately reinforced the right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-General Leith, which he placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division, and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve: and, as soon as these troops had taken their stations, he directed the Honourable Major-General Pakenham to move forward, with the 3d division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights (thereby outmanœuvring him in his own move); whilst Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Leith, the 4th division under the Honourable Major-General Cole, and the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division under Major-General Clinton, the 7th division under Major-General Hope, whilst Don Carlos d'Espagna's Spanish division, and Brigadier-General Pack's, should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

This important attack upon the French left was instantly made, according to the plan of the Commander-in-chief, and as completely, and almost instantly, succeeded; as did likewise an attack upon the enemy's front, in which he was driven successively from height to height. The fate of the battle was, however, suspended for a short time, by the stand made by a French division, which drove back a division of the allied army; but a reinforcement arriving in time, success was again restored

in this quarter. The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the fugitives from his left, continued to make a considerable resistance; till it was dark, when they at length broke and fled; and the defeat of the French army was now complete. They were pursued as long as any of them were to be seen together, but the darkness of the night favoured the escape of many of them.

Lord Wellington renewed the pursuit at break of day; and Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry having come up in the night, and having crossed the Tormes, the pursuers were enabled to come up with the enemy's rear-guard of cavalry and infantry near Le Serna; when they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate, the whole of which (three battalions) were made prisoners. The pursuit was continued until the evening of the 23d as far as Peneranza; whilst the scattered remains of Marmont's army passed through Flores de Avelin, and afterwards by Arevalo towards Valladolid, where they were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, but too late to retrieve their broken fortunes.

Thus ended the great and glorious battle of Salamanca, the most considerable that had yet been fought in the peninsula. The reputation of the allied army was nobly sustained during the whole contest; and the genius and talents of its illustrious commander was never more conspicuous than on this occasion. To his able dispositions before, and at the battle, may be attributed (as well as to the bravery of his troops) the success of the day: and we may observe throughout the whole, the same foresight, energy, and promptitude, which have, in every instance of his life, marked his character.

The loss of the enemy in the battle of Salamanca was very considerable, although no exact estimate could be made. Marshal Marmont, in his own account, acknowledges the loss of 6000 men put *hors de combat*. The English returns of the enemy's loss were as follow:—Eleven pieces of cannon, several ammunition-waggons, two eagles*, and six colours; one general,

* When Lord Wellington, before sending home the dispatches, was anxious to collect all the eagles taken from the enemy, it was found that Marshal Beresford's regiment, the Connaught Rangers, had got three of them, and sold them to a sutler for a bottle of rum!

three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, besides 6000 or 7000 men, taken prisoners. Marshal Marmont was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His arm was amputated soon after the action. Four French generals were also killed, and several wounded.

The loss of the allies, although not so considerable, was yet very great: it amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to about 5200. One general officer (Major-General Le Marchant) was killed, and five others were wounded.

When the news of this great victory reached England, the joy of the people was excessive; and every demonstration of rejoicing took place. It afforded, indeed, a real triumph to the English, when they considered that at a time when the whole world was submitting to the iron sway of Buonaparte, they were the only people who could successfully combat with him. They also cherished the hope (which happily was not far distant) that other nations, animated by their example, would at length see the folly of submission, and successfully assert their freedom and independence.

The Earl of Wellington, as a reward for his transcendent services, was now created, by his grateful Prince, a Marquis of the United Kingdom. In addition to his other honours, his Royal Highness also granted an armorial augmentation in the dexter quarter; of an escutcheon charged with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, being the union badge of the United Kingdom, as a lasting memorial of his glorious and transcendent achievements.

Besides these honours, which were so deservedly conferred on him by his own Prince, the Spanish and Portuguese were also eager to offer their testimonies of approbation to him to whom they were so much indebted. The former, as a particular mark of their confidence, bestowed the whole command of their forces upon him, with the title of Generalissimo. This mark of their confidence was of great service to the common cause of the allies, by producing an unity of action and design in all their future operations.

After the battle of Salamanca, the victorious army continued its pursuit of the enemy up to the 30th of July,

and continually made fresh prisoners. A part of the enemy crossed the Douro on the 27th, and the remainder proceeded to the bridge of Tudela over that river. On the 21st, Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid with the French army of the centre, directing his march by the Escorial, upon Alba de Tormes; but, hearing of Marmont's defeat at Salamanca, he retreated towards Segovia. The object of this movement was apparently to divert the allied troops from the pursuit of the army of Portugal, and to enable the latter to maintain themselves upon the Douro: in which, however, the enemy did not succeed. Their rear-guard remained in some strength on the left of the Douro, during the 28th and 29th; but the light and 1st divisions, and the cavalry, having crossed the Eresma and Cega rivers on the latter day, the enemy's rear-guard retired during the night across the Douro, and thence followed the movements of the main body towards Villa Vanez, abandoning Valladolid, and leaving there seventeen pieces of cannon, a large quantity of shot and shells, and other stores, and their hospital with about eight hundred sick and wounded.

The Spaniards were not idle at this time in their various detached parties; and, on the 30th, the general-in-chief of that district, Macquinez, took three hundred prisoners in the neighbourhood of Valladolid; and at the same period, the allied advanced guard crossed the Douro, and entered Valladolid, in which, as the noble Marquis observed, he had the satisfaction of being received by the people with the same enthusiastic joy as he had been in all other parts of the country.

The army of Portugal having thus crossed and quitted the Douro, it was necessary to attend to the movements of the army of the centre, and to prevent a junction between the two on the Upper Douro.

On the 31st of July the British head-quarters were at Portello; and on that morning Lord Wellington and his staff entered Valladolid.

The enthusiasm with which his Lordship was received was beyond all description; and he was met by the magistracy in their full order, accompanied by Don Julian Sanchez, who had arrived before him.

The Marquis of Wellington now moved his army to Cuellar, where he arrived on the 1st of August. On the
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same day Joseph Buonaparte retired from Segovia early in the morning, and marched through the Guadarama pass, leaving an advanced guard at Segovia, principally consisting of cavalry, under General Espert. Before leaving the place, he destroyed all the cannon and ammunition, which were in the castle; he also carried off all the church plate, and other property of any value, thus enriching himself at the expence of the wretched inhabitants.

On the 3d of August, the Marquis detached a force under Brigadier-General D'Urban to occupy Segovia; and at the same time it appears that Marmont's army was still continuing its retreat towards Burgos, whilst in Estremadura the enemy were endeavouring to increase their force.

Advices from General Hill at this time mentioned a brisk action between the allied and French cavalry, in the neighbourhood of Ribera, terminating in favour of the former.

The Marquis of Wellington, finding that Marmont's beaten army continued its retreat upon Burgos, in a state not likely to take the field for some time, determined either to bring Joseph Buonaparte to an action, or else compel him to evacuate Madrid. Accordingly his Lordship moved from Cuellar on the 6th of August, arrived at Segovia on the 7th, and at St. Ildefonso on the 8th, where he halted one day, in order to allow the right of the army more time to come up.

No opposition was made to the passage of the troops through the mountains; and Brigadier-General D'Urban with the Portuguese cavalry, the first light battalion of the King's German legion, and Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery, had been brought through the Guadarama pass as early as the 9th. The Brigadier-General then moved forward on the morning of the 11th from the vicinity of Galapagus; and, supported by the heavy cavalry of the King's German legion from Torrelodonas, drove in the French cavalry, about 2000 in number, and placed himself at Majalahonda, with the Portuguese cavalry and Captain Macdonald's troop, and the cavalry and light infantry of the King's German legion, at Las Royas, about three quarters of a mile distant.

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The enemy's cavalry, which had been driven off in the morning, and had moved towards Naval Carnero, returned about five in the afternoon of that day; and Brigadier-General D'Urban, having formed the Portuguese cavalry in front of Majalahonda, supported by the horse artillery, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's leading squadrons, which appeared too far advanced to be supported by the main body. The Portuguese cavalry advanced to the attack, but unfortunately turned about before they reached the enemy; and they fled through the village of Majalahonda, and back upon the German dragoons, leaving behind them, unprotected and unsupported, those guns of Captain Macdonald's troop which he had moved forward to co-operate with the cavalry. By the activity of the officers and soldiers of Captain Macdonald's troop, the guns were, however, moved off; but, owing to the unfavourable state of the ground over which they were moved, the carriage of one was broken, and two others were overturned; and these three guns fell into the enemy's hands.

The Portuguese dragoons, after flying through Majalahonda, were rallied and reformed upon the heavy dragoons of the King's German legion, which were formed between that village and Las Royas. The German cavalry then charged the enemy, although under many disadvantages, and stopped their further progress; but this they did only after suffering considerable loss, and having Colonel Jonquieres, who commanded the brigade, taken prisoner.

At this moment the left of the army was about two miles and a half distant, at the Puente de Ratemer, on the Guadarama river; and Colonel Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry of the 7th division, having moved forward to the support of the troops in advance, the enemy retired upon Majalahonda as soon as they observed those troops; and night having come on, they retired upon Alcorcon, leaving the captured guns at Majalahonda, where they were again taken possession of.

In this unpleasant affair of the Portuguese cavalry, it was still a satisfaction to the Marquis, that he was able to report that their officers had behaved remarkably well, and shewed a good example to their men, particularly the
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the Visconde de Barbacena, who was taken prisoner. But the conduct of the brave German cavalry was particularly excellent, as well as that of Captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery. After this partial affair, the whole army moved forward on the morning of the 12th, and its left took possession of the city of Madrid, Joseph Buonaparte having retired with the army of the centre by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, leaving a garrison in the Retiro.

The Marquis of Wellington, finding himself completely in possession of Madrid, directed the operations for the investment of the Retiro to take place; which were completed on the evening of the 13th: and on that night detachments of the 7th division of infantry, under the command of Major-General Hope, and of the 3d division of infantry, under the command of the Honourable Major-General Pakenham, drove in the enemy's posts from the Prado and the Botanical Garden, and the works which they had constructed outside of the park-wall; and, having broken through the wall in different places, they were established in the palace of the Retiro, and close to the exterior of the enemy's works inclosing the building called La China. The troops were preparing in the morning to attack these works, preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the governor sent out an officer, desiring to capitulate, and the Marquis granted him the honours of war, with the security of the soldier's baggage, &c. On the 14th, the garrison marched out on their road to Ciudad Rodrigo; and the works, on being taken possession of, were found to contain a garrison consisting of two colonels, a number of other officers, with rank and file, &c. amounting in the whole to 2508. Of all kinds of stores there were found 181 pieces of ordnance, 21,831 round shot, 1148 shells, 23,000 musquets, near three millions of ball cartridges, with a profusion of other stores, belonging to the army of the centre; to which we must add a great quantity considered as belonging to the army of Portugal, amounting to eight field-guns, a quantity of shot, 700 barrels of powder, 800,000 ball-cartridges, with an immense quantity of intrenching tools, &c. &c.

Such were the splendid fruits resulting from the important victory of Salamanca.

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The events connected with the occupation of Madrid by the allied army are too important to be here passed over. They form a proud æra in the life of the Duke of Wellington; and they prove to the world, in what a high degree of admiration the talents and services of his Grace were held by the grateful Spaniards, and the detestation and hatred that universally prevailed against the usurper of the Spanish crown, and the instruments of his usurpation.

As soon as accounts arrived at Madrid of the battle of Salamanca, preparations were made by King Joseph and all his adherents to leave the city; and, although they pretended that the victory was on the side of the French army, it was manifest to the citizens, from the alarm, perturbation, and confusion, which attended all their movements, that the contrary was the case. The advance of the English army towards the capital soon cleared up all doubts upon the subject: and then it was that the consternation and dismay was at its height. Orders and counter-orders were incessantly issued from the palace for the departure of the French, and all those who chose to accompany them; and at length it was finally determined to leave the city at six in the morning of the 10th of August. This sudden intimation increased the disorder of the fugitives. In the greatest confusion the immense convoy of the intrusive government was collected. Mourning and lamentation spread through all the houses of their partizans. Some sold their moveables for half their value, or what they could get; others gave them to be kept by their friends; and others asked that favour from the insurgents themselves, whom but a few days before they had looked on with disdain. They turned into money all they could save of the wreck of their property.

In the afternoon of the 12th, the allied army began to enter the city; and from that moment the public joy knew no bounds. The people of Madrid now seemed one united family. Friends, known and unknown, without difference from age, sex, or condition, conversed and embraced, giving mutual pledges of the liberty they had so anxiously panted for. The arrival of the first English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers, raised this joy to the highest pitch. Never did any people manifest with

so much cordiality and energy their gratitude to their deliverers.

The entrance of the Marquis of Wellington into Madrid was grand in the extreme. The enthusiasm of all ranks, particularly the females, bordered on madness; they were frantic with joy. The entrance into Salamanca, Segovia, and Ildefonso, was equal to the triumphal entries of the heroes of antiquity; but when, on the second day, Lord Wellington made his entry into the capital, the spectacle was truly grand. His Lordship was attended by the flower of the British nobility, and by all the generals of the allied army; whilst the Spanish nobility, the dignitaries of the church, the magistrates, and all the principal inhabitants, came out to meet him, accompanied by almost the whole population of the city, to be present at the ceremony of the presentation of the keys. The air was rent with cries of "*Viva le Duc de Rodrigo grande!*" But the elegant females, and those of the first rank, were the most particular: they threw under the horses' feet not only laurels and flowers, but a very great many threw their shawls and veils, which were of the finest texture. When the Marquis attempted to alight at the palace, women of the first quality, old and young, hugged and kissed him, and even every person whom they took for him, so that it was a long time before he and the generals got housed. There was, indeed, little trouble in getting billets; for the inhabitants got hold of the British officers where they could find them, and insisted on making them inmates of their houses.

On the 13th of August was proclaimed, by order of the Marquis of Wellington, as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, the constitution of the kingdom, as formed by the Cortes; Don Carlos Espana, governor of the capital and its province, and Marshal Miguel Alava, presiding at the act. On this solemn occasion, the concourse of people was immense. The ceremony was performed amidst the roar of the enemy's cannon, who were then making their last efforts to defend the inclosure of the Retiro: and thus, at the same time, it may be said, were heard the last groans of oppression and the first voice of independence—thus did the suffering patriots see themselves freed from the horrid and black load of disgrace, at the same instant in which appeared to their eyes the

luminous torch of their future felicity and social security.

The council of Madrid, in the midst of this scene of war and politics, were not unmindful of the softer duties of social life; and, wishing to offer the Marquis of Wellington a proof of their gratitude, determined to entertain him with a magnificent ball. The numerous and enlightened concourse who assisted at it, the decorations of the ball itself, the abundance of the wines, fruits, &c. the order and urbanity of all, and the presence of the great general, offered a picture worthy of admiration, even to those most accustomed to these scenes.

The Spanish authorities, however, were not content with mere demonstrations of joy; but, under the guidance of the Marquis, took a most important step for the speedy return of the misled *juramentados* to their social and military duties; and General Alava republished his proclamation to the Spanish soldiers under Joseph's colours, which had already been issued from the head-quarters of the Anglo-Hispano-Portuguese army on the 29th of the preceding month; in which he says—

“ The General and Extraordinary Cortes of the nation, wishing to celebrate the political constitution of the monarch, have decreed a general pardon to all Spanish military men, of whatever rank they may be, and who are in the service of the tyrant, upon their abandoning it, and presenting themselves to the Spanish chiefs, with as little delay as possible. Being charged by the Supreme government to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, I judge it my duty to make you acquainted with the favourable disposition of our legitimate government, in order that you may take advantage of it, and return into the bosom of your beloved country, and the estimation of your countrymen. The moment is most opportune: the enemy cannot much longer support themselves in the interior of the country; and, in retiring from our frontiers, your fate is decided; you are going to perish in the war of the north.

“ Your country, brothers, friends, are greatly offended by your infamous desertion; and you will give rise to a new war, unless you accept the offers of this proclamation. Hasten then to present yourselves to the Spanish authorities, or the advanced posts of the allied army; and

and in this manner you will cause your faults to be forgotten, by shewing that your heart was Spanish, although your exterior deportment gave reason for doubting it."

The Spanish General concluded his address by stating that all those who came in should also be paid for their arms, and such other military articles as they should bring with them; and so great was the effect of the proclamation, that, even in the course of a few days, a great number of those unfortunate and misguided men made their appearance, and, having taken the oaths of fidelity, joined their brethren in arms. In fact, it had such an influence as even to produce desertions from Joseph's army to the amount of thousands daily. His whole line of retreat, in short, was covered with deserters; and, on the 21st, it was known that the intrusive king had changed his route, and was then proceeding by the Arragon road.

At this period the towns of La Mancha were inundated with deserters from his army; and nearly 2000, it was said, had entered the capital, whilst many of the French partisans, who had not actually taken up arms, returned to their homes extremely disgusted with the treatment which they had met with from the retreating army.

The Marquis of Wellington still remained in the capital until the 22d of August; and on that morning the New Council went in a body from the Consistorial Hall, with the ceremonies of state, under the Presidency of the Field-Marshal Don Carlos d'Espa^{ña}, Commandant-General *ad interim* of New Castile and of the capital, and proceeded to the royal palace, to compliment him as General Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and, being admitted into his presence, the General addressed his Excellency, in the name of the whole Council, in the following terms:—

"Most Excellent Lord—The Council of the capital of Spain, which has deserved the public confidence, and which was elected according to the laws of the Spanish monarchy, sanctioned by the General and Extraordinary Cortes of the nation, comes to offer to your Excellency the sincere expression of its respect and gratitude. The inhabitants of Madrid, justly celebrated in history by
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their heroic patriotism, and who, in the glorious struggle in which the nation is engaged, were the first people who, without other force than their loyalty, shed their blood to defend the independence of their country and the rights of their legitimate sovereign, manifest to your Excellency, by the voice of their magistrates, the satisfaction they feel at seeing, in the palace of their kings, the illustrious conqueror of Vimiera and Talavera; the deliverer of Portugal; the conqueror of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; the hero who, in the plains of Salamanca, humbled the pride of our perfidious and cruel enemies, frustrated their designs, and broke the chains which disgraced the capital of the Spanish empire—a memorable victory, which history shall transmit to the most remote posterity.

“ My Lord Duke—The representatives of a most loyal and grateful people hope, that your Excellency, thus worthily placed at the head of Spanish greatness, will be pleased to take this capital under your particular protection; and that the effects of this benefit will be the continuation of that precious liberty which we acknowledge to owe to your Excellency, and the restoration to his throne of the monarch, who is the object of our persevering love and honour, and destined to reign, according to a wise constitution, over an illustrious people, who will for ever be worthy of their liberty from the sacrifices they have made.”

To this the Marquis returned the following answer:—

“ I am very sensible of the honour which the most noble and loyal Council of Madrid has done me in this visit, and am highly gratified with the polite language in which your Excellency, speaking in its name, has been pleased to mention the principal occurrences of the war in which I have borne a part. I have particular satisfaction in receiving a body of magistrates elected by the faithful people of Madrid, according to the forms provided by the constitution, sanctioned by the General and Extraordinary Cortes, which, possessing the confidence and influence of the people, carry into execution the laws with impartiality and vigour. The events of war are in the hands of Providence; but I trust that these gentlemen and inhabitants of Madrid, will not
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doubt that I shall continue to make every effort in my power, to carry into execution the orders of his Royal Highness, who exercises the authority in the name of his Britannic majesty, in behalf of the interesting cause of Spain; and I hope, that these efforts will not only contribute to preserve the peace and security of the city of Madrid, but also, ultimately, to establish the independence, prosperity, and happiness of Spain."

The aspect of affairs throughout Spain was in general favourable to the common cause; but the most important result attending the victory of Salamanca, and the advance of Lord Wellington to Madrid, was the raising the siege of Cadiz by the French. This city, the seat of the government, had for some years been in a state which rendered its inhabitants prisoners on the land-side, and subjected them to much distress from scarcity and sickness. This was aggravated by the sense of danger from a bombardment, which, though distant, had latterly, by means of improvements in destructive contrivance, become more serious. All the attempts of the Spaniards themselves to break up the blockade had failed; and even where the enemy had been obliged to withdraw the greater part of their troops, the strength of the works discouraged any effort to force them. The victorious career of Lord Wellington, and the recalling of some of the French veterans from Spain, made it necessary for the enemy to concentrate their forces; and, as a step towards this purpose, they resolved upon abandoning the siege. Accordingly, on the night of the 24th and morning of the 25th of August, they abandoned their works opposite to Cadiz and the Isla, except the town of Port Santa Maria, where a body of troops remained till the middle of the day, and then withdrew to Cartuga.

They left a very numerous artillery in the several works, and a large quantity of stores and powder; although most of the ordnance was rendered unserviceable and useless, yet, from other causes, they appeared to have retired with more precipitation from their position than could have been expected. Indeed, so apprehensive were they of being harassed, that a considerable body of cavalry was brought down previous to the commencement of the retreat.

The raising of the siege, as may easily be conceived, produced

produced the most lively satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of Cadiz, who exultingly exclaimed, "The greatly-desired moment is arrived, when we behold the haughty and insulting foe broken down and humbled even on these coasts of the peninsula. The siege of Cadiz is raised! The brilliant triumphs and progress of the allied army, led on by the great English General, have already produced the most felicitous results. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and its safety ensured on the plains on Salamanca. The tenacity of the Vandal Sout, in retarding this happy moment, will in the end prove greatly advantageous to the common cause."

Immediately after the evacuation of the lines of Cadiz, the city of Seville was also freed from the invaders. On the 27th of August, a combined force, under General Le Cruz and Colonel Skerret, entered Seville, in which were eight French battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry; and, after a tumultuary fight, in the streets, on the bridge, and in the suburbs, the French were driven out, leaving horses, baggage, and effects, and about 200 prisoners. The inhabitants were so zealous in their country's cause, that they rushed forward, in the midst of a heavy fire, to lay planks across the broken bridge, for the passage of the allied troops. About the same time, the French evacuated the city and castle of Arcos, in Andalusia, and all the line from Guadalate to Ronda, blowing up their fortifications, and destroying their cannon and ammunition.

We now return to the operations of Lord Wellington's army. Marshal Massena was now expected to take the command of the French army of Portugal, and once more to try his fortune against his illustrious rival: it became, therefore, necessary for Lord Wellington to watch his motions. He accordingly quitted Madrid on the 1st of September, having previously ordered his troops to be collected at Arevalo. At this time, Joseph Buonaparte had joined Marshal Suchet, in Valencia. The latter was posted upon the Xucar, watching the troops under General Maitland; which, after an advance from Alicant, had retreated, and were cantoned in the villages about that city. Marshal Sout was in Granada: he had been followed by Ballasteros, who had been successful in harassing his rear. Cordova and Jean were cleared of the invaders.

invaders. General Sir Rowland Hill was at Truxillo, whence he was to advance to Oropesa.

The British army, under the Marquis of Wellington, marched from Arevalo on the 4th of September, and passed the Douro on the 6th at the fords of Herrera and El Abrojo. Previous to which, General Foy, having heard of the surrender of Astorga, returned to the Esla, and marched upon Garvajales, with a view to surprise and cut off the Portuguese militia, already stated to have been employed under Lieutenant-General the Conde d'Amarante in blockading Zamora. This general, however, made good his retreat, without loss, to the frontiers of Portugal; and General Foy could do no more than carry off the French garrison, which he did on the 29th of August, thinking their position unsafe, and then marched for Tordesillas.

The whole remains of the army of Portugal being now collected between Valladolid and Tordesillas, the Marquis found their advanced guard on the 6th of September strongly posted on the heights of La Cisterniga; and at the same time he had information that there was a considerable body of troops in and about the former place.

As it was late in the day before the allied troops had crossed the Douro, the Marquis thought it imprudent to move forward before the morning of the 7th; but the enemy did not choose to await his approach, retiring from La Cisterniga during the night, and abandoned Valladolid in the morning, as soon as they saw the British advance, blowing up the bridge on crossing the Pisuerga, in order to arrest the pursuit. They were closely followed, however, by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Ponsonby, with a detachment of the 12th light dragoons, through the town; but some time having elapsed before the infantry could come up, the retiring troops could not be prevented from destroying the bridges, by which means their loss was less than might have been expected. In fact, so great was the terror of the French, that they fired only five guns before they hastily fled towards Burgos: but it appears that some of the British troops reached them, especially the cavalry, and caused them a great loss, the enemy abandoning their provisions, ammunition, baggage waggons, &c.

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This triumphant entry into Valladolid, although it had been only a few days under the French yoke, now caused the most inconceivable joy; and it has further been mentioned, that the Marquis of Wellington, with the most judicious attention to the wants of the poor Spaniards, had all the waggons brought into Valladolid, laden with the plunder of that town and neighbourhood, and permitted the distressed inhabitants to recover their lost property. Such noble conduct cannot be too highly appreciated, and must have operated highly in favour of the British character.

The enemy retired along the right bank of the Pisuerga, and in the evening had got as far as Duenas. Though the Gallician army had retired from Astorga, as already mentioned, on the approach of General Foy; yet no sooner had he commenced his retreat on the Douro, than they again advanced to the Esla. At this period the Marquis received intelligence from Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, that he had advanced as far as Llerena in pursuit of the troops under General Drouet.

The Marquis of Wellington continued to follow the enemy with the whole of his troops until the 16th of September, when he was joined at Pampliega by three divisions of infantry, and a small body of cavalry, of the army of Galicia; his Excellency the Captain-General Castanos having arrived at head-quarters on the 14th.

On the 16th, the retreating enemy had taken a strong position on the height behind Celada del Carmino, when his Lordship made arrangements for attacking them on the morning of the following day; but they thought proper to retire during the night, and were driven to the heights close to Burgos, through which town they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving behind them some clothing and other stores, and a large quantity of wheat and barley. After this they retired to Briviesca, where they were joined by about seven thousand conscripts from France.

It was necessary to pass the river of Arlanzon in the vicinity of Burgos; but the castle of that town commands the passages of the river, and the roads communicating with them, so completely, that the British army could not cross it before the 19th, when that operation was effected in two columns, the 5th division and Brigadier-General

General Bradford's brigade above the town, whilst the 1st division, with Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, and Major-General Anson's cavalry, passed below it.

The city of Burgos (now, as it may be called, the last refuge of the French in that part of Spain) is situated in that division of the country allotted to the army of the north; and General Caffarelli, who had been there on the 17th, had placed in the castle a garrison of the troops of that army, consisting, as was reported, of 2500 men. The enemy had not only taken considerable pains to fortify this castle of Burgos, but had also occupied with a horn-work the hill of St. Michael's, which has a considerable command over some of the works of the castle, at the distance of three hundred yards. They had likewise occupied other parts of that hill with fleches, and other works, for the protection of their picquets and outposts.

As soon as the first division of the allied army crossed the river Arlanzon on the 19th of September, the enemy's outposts were driven in by the light infantry battalion of Colonel Sterling's brigade, under the command of the Honourable Major Cocks, supported by Brigadier-General Pack's brigade; and the enemy's outworks on the hill of St. Michael's, with the exception of the horn-work, were occupied by the allied troops, which were posted close to the horn-work.

As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the 42nd regiment, attacked and carried by assault the horn-work which the enemy had occupied in strength. In this operation Brigadier-General Pack, Lieutenant-Colonel Hill of the 1st Portuguese regiment, Colonel Campbell of the 16th, Major Williams of the 4th Caçadores, Major Dick of the 42nd regiment, and the Honourable Major Cocks of the 75th regiment commanding the light infantry battalion, distinguished themselves most gallantly. The latter, in particular, who led the attack of the enemy's post in the morning, also entered the horn-work by its gorge at night. In this affair, the allies captured three pieces of cannon, and one captain, with sixty-two others, prisoners; but at the same time, owing to the strength of the work, their loss was very severe, consisting of Major Pierpoint, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Lieutenants Gregorson and Milne, of the 42d regiment, killed; with four captains and six lieutenants wounded, some of whom died after-

wards: the Portuguese lost, of officers, one lieutenant, and one ensign killed, besides several wounded. The whole number of killed were—British, 47; Portuguese, 24; wounded British, 242; Portuguese, 93; making a grand total of 71 killed, 323 wounded, with 16 missing. However great this loss, yet the attempt in which it took place was absolutely necessary; for it was impossible to ascertain the exact state of the works of the castle of Burgos, until possession was obtained of the hill of St. Michael's.

On the two following days, the allied troops were actively employed in establishing themselves on the hill of St. Michael's, and in constructing such works as were best calculated to forward their future operations. At that period the whole army had crossed the Arlanzon, with the exception of the 6th division of the Spanish infantry: and the siege of the castle of Burgos was commenced in form.

Though the city of Burgos itself was in possession of the allied forces, yet the head-quarters were at Villa Toro, in its vicinity; and the operations were still carried on against the castle. On the night of the 22d, the Marquis of Wellington directed an attempt to be made to take by storm the exterior line of the enemy's works, one of the batteries destined to protect the allied position having been in such a state of preparation as to give hopes that it would be ready to open on the morning of the 23d.

The attack was to have been made by detachments of Portuguese troops belonging to the 6th division, which occupied the town of Burgos, and invested the castle on the south-west side, on the enemy's left, whilst a detachment of the 1st division, under Major Lawrie of the 79th regiment, should scale the wall in front.

Unfortunately the Portuguese troops were so strongly opposed, that they could not make any progress on the enemy's flank, and the escalade could not take place. In consequence of this the British loss was severe; Major Lawrie was killed, and Captain Fraser, who commanded a detachment from the brigade of Guards, was wounded. Both these officers, and indeed all those employed on this occasion, exerted themselves to the utmost; but the attack on the enemy's flank having failed, the success of the escalade was impracticable.

On

On the 27th, the allied batteries were completed, and ready to open on the enemy's interior lines, as soon as the besieging troops could be established within the exterior works: and the enemy's army of observation, at the same period, was about Pancorbo and Miranda on the Ebro, with their advanced posts at Briviesca; but they had hitherto made no movements to impede the operations of the assailants.

On the failure of the proposed assault on the exterior lines of Burgos, it was found necessary to proceed by sap; and accordingly several mines were prepared; one of which being exploded at midnight of the 29th, a breach was made in the outer wall, which some of the party destined to attack it, were enabled to storm; but, owing to the darkness of the night, the detachment who were to support the advanced posts, missed their way, and the advance were driven off the breach before they could be effectually supported.

The breach, as effected by this mine, was not of a description to be stormed, except at the moment of the explosion; and it was necessary to improve it by fire, before the attempt could be repeated. But all endeavours on the part of the assailants, to construct batteries in the best situation to fire upon the wall, failed in consequence of the great superiority of the enemy's fire from the nature of their situation.

In the mean time another mine had been placed under the wall, which was ready on the morning of the 4th of October, and a fire was opened the same morning from a battery constructed under cover of the horn-work.

The cannonade from this battery improved the breach first made; and the explosion of the second mine, at five o'clock of the same evening, effected a second breach: on which both were immediately stormed by the 2d battalion of the 24th regiment, under the command of Captain Hedderwick, which had been ordered into the trenches for that purpose; and the allied troops were established within the exterior line of the works of the castle of Burgos.

The French army was still upon the Ebro, and made no effort to disturb the besiegers, though they had extended their left as far as Logrono, but with what intention does not appear.

After the attack of the 4th, two sorties were made by the garrison on the 6th, and the 10th; in which they considerably injured the works of the allies, and occasioned some loss of men.

On the 11th of October, notwithstanding the efforts of the enemy, the assailants had established themselves within about one hundred yards of the enemy's interior line, which it was even then in their power to assault; and they had also effected a good breach in another part of the same line, near to which a body of the British troops were established.

The besiegers were also carrying on their subterranean approaches with great perseverance, and were far advanced in the preparation of another mine.

At this time the enemy's army had not made any movement to interrupt the operations of the siege, but still remained upon the Ebro.

The operations continued in their usual state from the 11th of October until the 18th; when having received a supply of musquet ammunition from Santander, and having, whilst waiting for that necessary article, completed a mine under the church of St. Romana, which stood in an outwork of the second line, the Marquis determined that the breach, which had been effected in the second line, should be stormed on that evening, at the moment the mine should explode; and that at the same time the line should be attacked by escalade.

The mine succeeded; and Lieutenant-Colonel Brown lodged a party of the 9th Cazadores, and a detachment of Spanish troops of the regiment of Asturias, in the outwork. A detachment of the King's German legion, under Major Wurmb, carried the breach, and a detachment of the Guards succeeded in escalading the line; but the enemy brought such a fire upon these last two detachments, from the third line, and the body of the castle itself, and they were attacked by numbers so superior, before they could receive the support allotted them, that they were obliged to retire, suffering considerable loss.

In order to further the operations, another mine was commenced under the second line from the church of St. Romana, of which the assailants still remained in possession.

The

The hopes of success now grew fainter, especially as the French army began to make demonstrations of a serious design to raise the siege. The army of Portugal had been reinforced by fresh troops from France, and by all the disposable force of the army of the North, and was now in formidable strength. On the 13th, they made a reconnoissance of the allied outposts at Monasterio; and on the 18th, they made an attack in force, and gained possession of the heights commanding that town, whence the outposts had been obliged to retire. They afterwards attempted to drive in other outposts, but for the time they were repulsed.

There were four armies at this period south of the Douro; Joseph's, Suchet's, Soult's, and a force employed in the blockade of Cadiz. All these had now united, and were advancing in a column towards the Tagus. This force, amounting to nearly 80,000 men, was, nominally, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte; but, in reality, its direction was under Marshal Soult. General Hill now sent intelligence to Lord Wellington of the enemy's movements towards the Tagus, which was already fordable by individuals in many places, and was likely soon to become so for an army. Lord Wellington, therefore, ordered him to retire from his position on the Tagus, if he should find that he could not maintain himself in it with advantage; and it was necessary, on account of the foregoing circumstances, that his Lordship should be near to him, in order that his own army should not be insulated from Sir Rowland, in consequence of any of the movements which it was now likely he should find himself under the necessity of making.

In consequence of this arrangement, his Lordship raised the siege of Burgos on the night of the 20th, and moved the whole army back towards the Douro.

Thus ended the siege of Burgos, greatly to the disappointment and mortification of his Lordship, as well as a serious injury to the common cause. His Lordship was never very sanguine in his hopes of success; but, as the possession of the place was of great importance to the common cause, he was determined to make a trial to obtain it.

By the activity of the various staff officers, every thing relative to the siege was carried off in the course of one night,

night, excepting a few pieces of ordnance: and such was the secrecy used, that the enemy appears not to have known of it for some time; for we find they did not follow the allies until the evening of the 22d, when 10,000 of their troops were encamped between Burgos and the British army.

On the evening of the 22d the allies were encamped at Celada del Camino and Hornillos, with the light cavalry at Estapan and Baniel. On the 23d they continued their march, the right to Torquemada, the left to Cordevilla; at which two places the whole crossed the river Pisuerga. During these movements, the enemy pressed close on the rear of the allied army, making continual attacks with their cavalry and light troops, whenever they had an opportunity, by which means considerable losses were sustained by the allies. On the 24th the army continued its retreat, and took up its ground on the Carrion, with its right at Duenas, and its left at Villa Muriel. On this day the army was joined by the 1st Guards from Corunna. On the 25th, the enemy attacked the left wing of the allies at Villa Muriel, but were repulsed with some loss. On the 26th the Marquis of Wellington ordered the army to break up from the Carrion; and he immediately marched up Cabecon del Campo, where he again crossed the Pisuerga. Here the army halted for two days; and on the 27th the Marquis had an opportunity of seeing the whole of the French army, as they placed themselves opposite to him on the Pisuerga. They appeared to be in great strength; and from the best information it was known that the army of Portugal had received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, including cavalry, from France. Two divisions of infantry belonging to the army of the north had also joined; and as the cavalry of the latter army was with them, it gave to the pursuing enemy a force of 5000 men in that department alone. The advanced guard of the French army was now about two miles in front of their main body, and about one mile from Cabecon; and on the 28th, they not only extended their right, but endeavoured to force the bridges of Simances and Valladolid, the former of which was defended by Colonel Halket with his brigade of the 7th division, and the latter by the Earl of Dalhousie with the

the remainder of the 7th division. At length, Colonel Halket, being hard pressed, blew up the bridge: he at the same time detached the Brunswick Oels regiment to Tordesillas, towards which quarter the enemy had detached troops on this evening; and, as soon as the Marquis was acquainted with this circumstance, he judged it proper to break up from the Pisuerga, and to cross the Douro, which object was effected without difficulty on the 29th, by the bridges of Puente Douro and Tudela.

On the approach of the enemy's detachment to Tordesillas, the bridge there had been destroyed; but the Marquis sent orders to the regiment of Brunswick Oels, already detached by Colonel Halket, to take post on its ruins, in such a manner, as to prevent the enemy from repairing it. In the course of the night, however, of the 29th, he had the mortification of learning that the corps had been obliged to abandon its posts; and as he had seen the whole of the French army in march towards Tordesillas on that evening, he felt that no time was to be lost, but accordingly marched the whole of the British force to that quarter at an early hour on the morning of the 30th, moving upon his left, and posting the troops on the heights between Rueda and Tordesillas.

The Marquis found, on his arrival there, that the enemy had nearly repaired the bridge, but had as yet made no attempt to pass it, in fact being in some measure taken by surprise by the promptitude and rapidity of the British movements. This movement indeed seems totally to have disconcerted the plans of the French general; for on the 31st it appeared that he had no considerable force in the vicinity of the British army, some of his troops having been marched off towards Valladolid, and others in the direction to Toro.

All these operations of the main army were followed by corresponding movements of the forces under General Hill, who had received orders to march northwards; and, in the beginning of November, he arrived on the Adaja, where he was in full communication with the Marquis of Wellington. The allied troops were withdrawn from Madrid, having first destroyed the fort of La China, and all the stores and guns it contained which had not been carried away.

From the close of October, when the head-quarters were

were at Rueda, until the 3d of November, the army under the Marquis of Wellington continued in their cantonments; the enemy making no attempt to cross the Douro. The advanced posts of the French had, however, repaired the bridge of Tordesillas, and were then occupied in the re-establishment of that of Toro; their whole army being extended along the Douro, from Toro to Valladolid. On the 3d of November, it was expected, according to the preconcerted plan of operations, that the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill should arrive on the banks of the Adaja; that officer having received the Marquis's instructions to break up from his position on the Jacama on the 29th, and which he was to perform on the following day.

Sir Rowland Hill, previous to this, had intended to destroy the Puente Larga, but the mine failed; and the enemy having collected a large body of troops between the bridge and Aranjuez, they immediately attacked the post on the bridge, but were repulsed, with considerable loss, by the 3d battalion of the 47th regiment, and a detachment of the 95th, under the command of Colonel Skerret. This circumstance accounts for the delay occasioned by it, as the march from the right of Hill's army was prevented thereby until the evening of the 30th of October, from which period he continued his retreat without being molested by the enemy.

The French under Souham having repaired the bridge at Toro sooner than Lord Wellington expected, he sent orders on the 4th to Sir Rowland Hill to continue his march by Fontiveros upon Alba de Tormes; and, as soon as he found that the latter was sufficiently forward, he broke up on the 6th, from the position in front of Tordesillas, marching towards the heights of San Christoval, in front of Salamanca. On the 8th, he took his position on those heights; and, on the same day, General Hill occupied the town and castle of Alba, posting troops on the Tormes to support them. On the 9th, the enemy drove in the picquets of Major-General Long's brigade of cavalry, in front of Alba; and the Major-General was obliged to withdraw his troops through Alba on the following morning; in the course of which day the whole of the French army approached the British positions on the Tormes, attacking the troops in Alba with twenty pieces

pieces of cannon, and a considerable body of infantry. They made no impression on them, however; but withdrew the cannon, and the greater part of their troops, on the same night; nor did they attempt to renew the attack.

From the 10th until the 14th of November, the army immediately under the eye of the Marquis was not actively engaged; but the time was past in various reconnoissances, as well of the fords of the Tormes, on the part of the enemy, as of the position which the British troops occupied in front of Salamanca; and on the 14th the enemy crossed the Tormes in full force, at three fords near Lucinas, about two leagues above Alba.

The Marquis, on hearing of these movements, immediately broke up from San Christoval, and ordered the troops to move towards Arapiles; and, as soon as he ascertained the direction of the march of the French army from the fords, he moved, with the 2d division of infantry, and all the cavalry that could be collected, in order to attack them. In order to protect this movement, he left Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill with the 4th and Lieutenant-General Hamilton's division in front of Alba, whilst the 3d division was in reserve on the Arapiles, to secure the possession of that position. He found, however, that the enemy were already too numerous, and too strongly posted at Mozarbes, to be attacked; and he therefore confined himself to a cannonade of their cavalry, under which he reconnoitred their position.

In the evening the Marquis withdrew all the troops from the vicinity of Alba towards the Arapiles; merely leaving a small Spanish garrison in the castle, but destroying the bridge.

In the course of the night and the following morning (the 15th), he also moved the greatest part of the troops through Salamanca, and placed Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Paget, with the 1st division of infantry, on the right, at Aldea Tejada, in order to secure that passage for the troops over the Zanguen, in case the movements of the enemy on the allied right flank should render it necessary for him to make choice either of giving up his communication with Salamanca or Ciudad Rodrigo.

In the course of the morning the Marquis of Wellington found that the enemy were fortifying their position

of Mozarbes, which they had only taken up the night before; and, at the same time, that they were moving bodies of cavalry and infantry towards their own left, extending towards the allied communications with Ciudad Rodrigo. It was then obvious that it was the enemy's intention to act upon these communications; and as they were too strong, as well as too strongly posted, for him to think of attacking them, he determined to move upon that fortress. The allied army was therefore put in march, in three columns, and crossed the Zunguen, passing the enemy's left flank, and encamping on the Vamusa on the night of the 15th.

On the 16th, the enemy followed this movement with a large force, apparently the whole of their cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry; but they did not attempt to press upon the rear. They took advantage of the ground, however, to cannonade the rear-guard, consisting of the light division under Major-General Charles Alten, on its passage of the Helebra, at San Munoz, on the 17th, and occasioned it some loss.

At this period the allied army suffered much from the severity of the weather, which was much worse than it had ever been known at that season of the year; and the transport of guns and stores was thereby much impeded. It was in a great measure owing to this that Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Paget was taken prisoner; for that officer, on the 17th, commanding the centre column, and the fall of rain having greatly injured the roads and swelled the rivulets, there was an interval between the 5th and 7th divisions of infantry, to discover the cause of which Sir Edward rode to the rear alone; and as the road passes through a wood, either a detachment of the enemy's cavalry had got upon the road, or he had missed it, and fell into their hands in the wood.

The retreat of the army continued until the 19th, when part of it crossed the Agueda, and the head-quarters were fixed at Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the 24th of November the head-quarters of the allies were again established at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier; and the greater part of the enemy's forces had recrossed the Tormes, and were marching towards the Douro. General Hill had withdrawn southwards, to Coria, in Estramadura.

We have thus followed his Lordship through the whole of this disastrous retreat. That the loss of the allied army must have been considerable cannot be denied, though no exact estimate was ever published to the world. One lamentable consequence arising from it, was the great insubordination which it introduced into the army. This had arisen to so great an height, as to compel his Lordship openly to reproach his troops, in the face of the world, with a want of discipline. In his address to his army, he says, "I am concerned to have to observe, that the army under my command has fallen off in this respect, in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read: yet this army has met with no disaster; it has suffered no privations, which but trifling attention on the part of the officers could not have prevented; and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service; nor has it suffered any hardships, excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather at a moment when they were most severe. It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men, irregularities and outrages of all descriptions were committed with impunity, and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred."

The allied army having now gone into cantonments for the winter, it may not be amiss to notice other events connected with the noble subject of this biography, which took place at a rather earlier date than that which we have now arrived at. We have already noticed the event of his appointment of Commander-in-Chief of all the Spanish armies. The motives and consequences of this step may be found in the following letter from the Spanish secretary of state to the English ambassador, inclosing a copy of the decree of the Cortes:—

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the General and Extraordinary Cortes, wishing to improve the glorious successes of the allied army, with a view to put an end to the calamities of war, which bear heavy upon the nation—considering

that nothing can contribute more effectually to the attainment of so interesting an object, than the placing of all the troops in the Peninsula under the direction of one commander, in order that there may be unity in the plans and operations of the allied forces—and setting the highest value on the distinguished talents and eminent services of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, captain-general of the national armies—have decreed in a secret sitting, that, during the co-operation of the allied force, he shall be invested with the command-in-chief of them all; exercising it conformably to the general ordinances, with this difference only, that whatever is enacted in Art. 6, Title 1, &c. of the same, a copy of which is annexed, shall be extended to all the provinces of the Peninsula—that illustrious Commander corresponding with the Spanish Government through the office of the Secretary at War.

“ The Regency of the kingdom has directed me to request your Excellency will have the goodness to transmit this important communication to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, with as little delay as possible; he being persuaded that this meritorious Commander will see, in the above mentioned determination of the Cortes, a most solemn and authentic testimony of the national gratitude for the eminent services which he has rendered to Spain, as also of the great confidence to which he has entitled himself by the uncommon talents and military virtues for which he is conspicuous; and by the unlimited zeal with which he devotes them to the furtherance of the common cause.

“ His Highness is anxious to hear of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo having occupied the above-mentioned situation; that, being officially informed of it, he may direct the publication of the resolution of the Cortes, by which his Lordship is invested with the same.

“ I beg your Excellency will admit of the sincere assurances of my high consideration and respect.

“ May God, &c.

“ *Cadiz, Sep. 25th.*

“ IGNACIO DE LA PEGUELA.”

To this address, and to the ambassador's accompanying letter, the Marquis returned the following answer:—

“ Most

“ MOST EXCELLENT SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 25th of September, inclosing a letter of the same date from Don Ignacio de la Peguela, by which I learn that the General and Extraordinary Cortes have been pleased to direct, that the command of all the Spanish forces be conferred on me; for which signal proof of confidence on the part of the Congress and Government, I request your Excellency will express my deep-felt gratitude to the Secretary of State.

“ I most anxiously wish to do whatever lies in my power, to promote and obtain the laudable object of the Spanish nation, in their just contest with France; and I feel no reluctance to undertake the new task, and responsibility inseparable from the exercise of the command of the Spanish armies; but I cannot announce my acceptance of the honour conferred upon me by the Cortes and Government, without the previous permission of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to whom I will immediately apply for this purpose.

“ I am the less concerned at this delay, as, having long been in the habit of confidentially communicating with the generals at the head of the Spanish armies as to the general objects I had in view in the operations of the Anglo-Portuguese under my command, suggesting at the same time such measures as they might adopt to effectually co-operate with me, I have constantly found them attentive to those suggestions, and received from them whatever assistance they could give; and, accordingly, I am convinced they will continue to do so, although I do not immediately assume the chief command. I therefore believe that no inconvenience can result from my applying to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, previous to entering upon the honourable trust conferred upon me by the Cortes.

“ This token of confidence on their part, and that of government, and the terms in which it has been communicated to me, are a most flattering proof of those authorities being persuaded, that in the command of the other two members of the alliance, with which I had before been invested, I have done whatever lay in my power to promote the common cause of the allied nations. I deem it, therefore, needless to make any protestations on this point; and hope that, in the new and more exalted situation

tion in which I shall shortly be placed, as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of all the allies in the Peninsula, I shall not only be supported, but succeed in impressing the Spanish Government, Cortes, and nation, with a firm belief that all my measures will have for their sole object the furtherance of the common cause in which they are all so earnestly engaged.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ *Villa Toro, Oct. 2d, 1813.*

“ WELLINGTON.”

When, in consequence of this appointment, his Lordship sent an order to General Ballasteros, Captain-General of Andalusia, to move his army, that officer felt his honour so much piqued, that he refused obedience. In consequence of which, he was put under arrest in the midst of his army, which made no resistance, and received an order to depart for Ceuta. General Merino also appeared to have cherished the same unjust dissatisfaction at the Marquis of Wellington's appointment; but no other symptom of complaint took place. Had not the jealousy of the Spanish government prevented this appointment from taking place earlier, no doubt can be entertained but the expulsion of the French from Spain would have taken place much earlier than it did.

Before we proceed to notice the transactions which took place in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal subsequent to the allied army being put into winter-quarters, it will be proper to take a view of the proceedings at home, as connected with our present biographical subject. It will tend greatly to illustrate his character, and to shew how highly his services were appreciated by all parties; and that, whatever difference of opinion might prevail with respect to the propriety or impropriety of carrying on a contest, which by some was thought to be hopeless, no difference whatever existed as to the merits and deserts of the Marquis of Wellington.

The British parliament having met in the latter end of the year, a motion of thanks for the victory of Salamanca was moved by Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords; who declared, that he should not do justice to the gallant Marquis if he did not preface the motion which he had to make with a detail of the circumstances which preceded that glorious battle: these, however, he should

not

not make out from reasonings after the victory, but from documents which existed before it.

He then entered minutely into the various details of the campaign; and, in alluding more particularly to the raising of the siege of Cadiz, observed that it was certain that the continuation of that siege, by which the government of Spain was confined within the walls of the city, placed them considerably under local interest, and materially degraded them in the estimation of the kingdom of Spain.

He then adverted to the period when the Marquis decided to go into Castile, in order to gain a victory over Marmont, and to cut off all communication between him and Soult; and he added, that, as it was on the 17th of June that Lord Wellington entered Salamanca, so it was about that time that the correspondence between the two French Marshals fell into his hands, a correspondence which related to the British operations from the commencement of the march into Spain.

Lord Bathurst here asserted, that if the brilliant successes of the Marquis were required to be stated in the strongest possible manner, they could not be better done than by laying these letters before the House.

From these, in fact, it would appear that there was not any movement of the enemy which Lord Wellington did not anticipate—no expectation which he did not frustrate—and no fear which he did not realize; insomuch that one of the French Marshals declared that the Marquis *must either read their correspondence, or dive into their hearts!*

His Lordship next adverted to a most singular and important circumstance, as an historical feature, and passed the highest panegyric upon the Marquis for refraining (previous to the battle) to avail himself of an opportunity which presented itself, of obtaining the most *brilliant* victory over Marmont, since it would have been attained with a great loss of lives, and no very decisive result.

He was anxious to shew, great as were Lord Wellington's military talents, how unwilling he was to risk the lives of his soldiers; how careful he was of the means of his country; and how willing to sacrifice what must be most dear to a soldier—an opportunity of gaining personal renown, if that opportunity must be purchased with

with too great a loss of blood; and yet at that period the gaining of victory by any means would have still been so far valuable, inasmuch as it would have tended to discountenance the idea that victory was a stranger to every standard except the French.

He next drew a striking and characteristic contrast between the two hostile chiefs, by observing, that Lord Wellington, having received reinforcements, was able to cross the Douro where he chose, and having selected Tordesillas, was attacked on the next day by the whole army of Marmont, from which he retreated without loss. The two armies then continued for two days in sight of each other, watching and anxious for an engagement; with this difference, that Marmont would have engaged, provided he could have done so on terms not wholly unfavourable, but Lord Wellington would not have done so without he was sure of the decided advantage.

There were two heights, he observed with respect to this point, the possession of which would give advantage to either army; one was immediately occupied by the British army, the other by the French. But Lord Wellington soon perceived that from Marmont's situation, his rear would be exposed to be cut off from that retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo which he himself conceived in the course of events it might be necessary for him to make good with the allied forces in the course of the day. He, therefore, immediately directed all his baggage into Ciudad Rodrigo; and, after some time, Marmont extended his line to the left for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Marquis; who, aware of the danger of being reduced, by Marmont's success in this manœuvre, to a forced action, immediately directed the 3d division to pass the rear so as not to be seen. If Lord Wellington had quitted his position, he might then have been deprived of an advantage which might never happen again; and who can tell, asked Lord Bathurst, what passed in the General's mind during the conflict, whether he should remain exposed as he was, or abandon that position? How little do we think of those anxious moments which a general experiences, in whose decisions are placed the lives and fortunes of so many brave men? The critical moment at length arrived—"Now I have it!" exclaimed Lord Wellington; and

and the same army, who were before in a disposition for retreat, were now in an array for battle, as if they had been so from the very dawn of that day.

The 3d division was under the command of Major-General Pakenham—a very young man to undertake so great a task as was entrusted to him; but, said Lord Bathurst, he proved on this occasion, that he united to the enterprising spirit of youth the wisdom and experience of maturer years. He was well supported by the cavalry, who advanced and overthrew every thing without resistance: but it was not until the 6th and 7th divisions came to his assistance, that advantage was obtained over the enemy; when the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton decided the fortune of the day, which was uncertain till they burst upon the enemy, and carried every thing before them. After this, nothing was left for the enemy but flight, which, however, would have been unavailing to them, but for the night, which covered their retreat.

Lord Bathurst then said that he left it for others to descant upon the most noble General's heroism, judgment, forecast, skill—all of which were displayed at the victory of Salamanca, and which had not slept since. If he forebore from panegyrising all these qualities as they merited, it was not from a want of feeling them, but from a consciousness of his own inadequacy to an eulogy, which, unless animated by genius, and chastised by taste, would add no lustre to the hero's name; he therefore modestly said, that he left the task to others better qualified than himself, and concluded by moving, "That the thanks of the House of Peers be presented to General the Marquis of Wellington for his many and great services, more particularly for the great and decisive victory of the 22d of July last, whereby the siege of Cadiz was raised, and the Andalusias were freed from the hands of the enemy."

The Marquis of Lansdown said, that no person who had the honour to be connected with the family of the illustrious individual at the head of our army in the Peninsula, could be more anxious to support the proposition now submitted to the noble House, than he was; and that no person could have felt more pleasure than he did,

in listening to the just, clear, and glowing description of the mover. That anxiety, he declared, was not diminished by the late unfavourable events which had taken place; for he was entirely of opinion that these circumstances ought to make no alteration as far as regarded the present question. In fact, he considered the question, not to be now as it was on a former night, and might again be at a future period, whether Lord Wellington had been supplied by the British government with proper means and resources; but the question was simply, whether the means with which his Lordship had been entrusted, had been wisely, skilfully, and successfully, as far as circumstances would admit, applied for the public service.

Though unwilling to mix these topics with the present subject, yet the Marquis of Lansdowne conceived that he might be permitted to say so far as that if there were any persons who had seen the difficulties of the war in the Peninsula in a stronger light than others, who thought the means of carrying it on were very imperfect, and who, though admiring the patriotism of the Spanish people, yet feared that the organization, civil and military, in that country, was not such as afforded security for effectual co-operation; then the greater they felt these difficulties to be, in that proportion must be their admiration of the talents of the General who had met, and in many instances gloriously surmounted these difficulties. The campaign indeed he considered as one which must be characterized as of various fortune; yet out of this very circumstance there arose a display of military talent in Lord Wellington which would not otherwise have appeared. It was thus evident that whether the gallant Marquis pursued the triumphs gained by himself, or experienced disappointment from extraneous circumstances, he was no less capable, by his rare talents, of alleviating misfortune, than of improving success.

The Marquis of Lansdowne then added, that in reviewing the military transactions in the Peninsula for the last three years, if he were qualified at all to decide on the subject, those which he would rest upon with the highest admiration would be such as occurred under the circumstances when Lord Wellington was obliged to retreat

retreat before a superior force of the enemy. However unfavourable the circumstances, he had always on those occasions preserved his army and its resources entire, and fit for attack when the proper moment for attack should arrive. Such was the retreat to the lines at Torres Vedras; such was his retreat previous to the battle of Salamanca—a retreat converted in a moment into a brilliant victory, where a superior enemy was checked, and forced to retrace his steps; such, too, was the present retreat to the frontiers of Portugal: all of them evincing the greatest military genius in the commander.

Another most striking feature in the character of the illustrious subject of our biography was recorded by Lord Somers, whose son, the gallant Colonel Cocks, had fallen at Burgos. His Lordship said, that he did not rise to trouble the House at any length, for it was hardly possible to add to what had already been said on the great merits of Lord Wellington; but, feeling particular obligation to his Lordship, he could not help expressing his sincere concurrence in the measure proposed, and his desire to add, as much as was in his power, to the well-earned honours of that great man. There was a trait in his character, which, he said, had not yet been noticed, but which was well worth mentioning—he meant the attention which the gallant General, though occupied as he must be by his great plans, paid to the comforts of those who had fallen into ill-health from the labours of their situation. He knew that such attention had been paid to a dear relative of his, who had nearly died from fatigue after the battle of Salamanca, and would have died then, had it not been for the friendly care of the Marquis of Wellington, who saved a little longer that life which was soon after lost in the performance of public duty. This fact he thought worth mentioning; and he fully agreed with Lord Bathurst that there never was a general less disposed to sacrifice the lives of his soldiers, except when the service of his country demanded such a sacrifice. This he knew of his own knowledge: and he had only further to observe, that the knowledge of the attention which Lord Wellington paid to those under his command must complete that confidence which the army and the country had in that great commander; and

he need not expatiate on the advantages of such confidence when so well placed.

These testimonies of approbation, from so many parties, could not fail of exciting the most lively emotions in the breast of his illustrious brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, who observed how proud and how gratified he felt by all that had occurred. If the merits of Lord Wellington, said he, could have a higher and more eloquent eulogium than that pronounced by Lord Bathurst, it would be by that bestowed by the venerable Lord Somers. There could, indeed, have been but one feeling in the House when that nobleman spoke: his praise of the British general was the most valuable; he spoke like a patriot; he had sustained a deep and bitter loss, but he had sustained it with the honourable and manly feeling of one who had given up a dear son for his country.

On the general subject of the motion, the Marquis of Wellesley added, that it could scarcely be supposed that he would offer objections; but one thing he had to observe, where Lord Bathurst had alluded to the display of Lord Wellington's talents in the pressure of retreat, and thought them not less signally displayed than in victory. "For my part," exclaimed the Marquis, "if I were called on to give my impartial testimony of the merits of your great general, I confess, before Heaven, I would not select his victories, brilliant as they were; I would go to the moments when difficulties pressed and crowded on him—when he had but the choice of extremities—when he was overhung by superior strength. It is to his retreats that I would go, for the proudest and most undoubted evidence of his ability. It is not my intention to debate upon these services—there is but one feeling on them amongst us. The speech of Lord Bathurst was sufficient; if its chasteness, tastefulness, and truth, could have a want, it was more than compensated by the admirable speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had followed him in the debate." Here his Lordship sat down, amidst heartfelt applause; and the motion was carried unanimously.

The House of Commons was no less eager to bestow its thanks upon the illustrious Subject of this Memoir than the Upper House. It would, however, extend our Work too far to insert here all the speeches that were made

made on the occasion. It is sufficient to observe, that in substance they were the same as those delivered in the House of Lords. Independent of these testimonies of their approbation, the House of Commons proceeded to take into their consideration the message of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent relative to an additional provision for the Marquis of Wellington, to enable him to support the dignity of his rank; and Lord Castlereagh, in bringing forward this subject, after bestowing the warmest eulogium upon the noble Marquis, proceeded to observe, that the Prince Regent of Portugal* had conferred on him the rank of Field-Marshal, with the pay attached to that rank in the Portuguese army, which had been stated to amount to £8000 *per annum*; but Lord Wellington, though he accepted the rank, had refused the emoluments attached to it, on the disinterested ground, that he was paid by his own sovereign and country. These emoluments were, however, reserved and set apart for some years, in hopes that Lord Wellington's delicacy might give way, and he be prevailed on to accept them; but when offered to him in a gross sum, he expressed his surprise, repeated his refusal, and begged they might be distributed amongst the officers of the army of Portugal, who had deserved so well of their country; contenting himself thus with the honours, unconnected with emolument. In looking at the present measure, Lord Castlereagh very properly wished the House to view it in the light of an honourable remuneration by the country to Lord Wellington and his family, for the most splendid services performed by that illustrious general; and that the provision should be such as would particularly mark the sense of the House, and their wish to render it as particular and permanent as possible. By an accidental concurrence of circumstances, and one rather extraordinary, the manor of Wellington, from which the noble Marquis had taken his title, happened at present to be in the hands of persons who were willing to dispose of it;

* The Prince Regent of Portugal about this time conferred on the Noble Marquis of Wellington the rank of a grandee of the first order in that kingdom, by the title of the Duke of Vittoria; and at the same time Marshal Beresford also received the rank of Marquis in Portugal, with the title of Campo Mayor.

and it would be a desirable concurrence that it should be purchased as part of those lands, which it was his intention to move, should constitute the remuneration of his Lordship on the present occasion. Under these circumstances he moved "That £100,000 should be vested in the hands of trustees, to be laid out in the purchase of lands of that value, to be settled on Lord Wellington, his heirs and successors.

From this retrospect of domestic occurrences, as connected with the life of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, we now turn to foreign affairs. We have already brought down the operations of the hostile armies in Spain to the close of November 1812, when they went into winter quarters; and, with the exception of a few trifling affairs in different parts, military operations were wholly suspended, each party being busily employed in repairing their losses in the last campaign, and endeavouring to render their forces as efficient as possible for the great struggle that was to ensue in the next. During this interval, therefore, Lord Wellington took the opportunity of visiting Cadiz, where he arrived on the 24th of December. The object of his visit to this place was, to confer with the Spanish government on the best means of rendering more efficient the powers of the commanders of armies, drawing the line between their authority and that of the civil governors and municipal councils of provinces, and providing for the maintenance of each army.

For this purpose he recommended that the nation should be divided into four departments; and that at the head of each should be placed a Captain and Intendant-General, of his Lordship's appointment, or at least recommendation and approval. That the latter officer should be required to receive all moneys ordered to be raised by government *for the maintenance of the Spanish armies*, the organization of which to be completed under the directions of Lord Wellington himself, who also agreed to pay over all balances there might be on hand, at the end of the year, to the Spanish government.

These propositions, though formally rejected by the government as incompatible with their constitution, were afterwards, in substance, adopted.

His reception at Cadiz, as might well be imagined from
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his great services, was of the most flattering nature; a splendid entertainment was given him by the Spanish grandees, as a public testimony of the gratitude they felt for the eminent services which his heroic conduct in the field had done to the Spanish nation, and of manifesting to the world, in a manner worthy of his exalted character, the sentiments which they bore him of love, respect, and esteem, for his private virtues and eminent military talents.

Having transacted his business with the Spanish government, his Grace left Cadiz early in January to return to the head-quarters of his army at Freynada; and, in his route, passed through the capital of Portugal, where he was honoured with a most triumphant reception, which is thus described in a letter from Lisbon:—

“ His Excellency the Marshal General the Marquis of Torres Vedras, after having passed through triumphal arches erected in the fortress of Elvas, and in all the towns on the road to the left bank of the Tagus, where, for the space of thirty leagues, all the inhabitants strove to outdo each other in testimonies of enthusiasm and gratitude, at length arrived at half-past three in the afternoon in the Commercial Square of this capital. He was there received by all the Portuguese and English Generals, by all the troops of both nations, and the whole armed force in Lisbon. His arrival was announced by repeated salutes from the ships and frigates in the Tagus and the castle of St. George. The troops were ranged in two lines, extending to the Palacio das Necessidades. His Excellency mounted on horseback, thus affording a sight of himself to the immense concourse of spectators that were collected, and the innumerable ladies who adorned the windows of that vast edifice, which had been prepared for his reception. Repeated and loud acclamations accompanied his Excellency as he passed on; and the people of Lisbon, who had never given a plaudit nor one salutation to Junot, notwithstanding all the power with which he was surrounded, were now boundless in their applauses to their deliverer from the cruel invasion of Massena. At night there was a general illumination, which was repeated three successive nights.

The Marquis of Wellington, after his visit to Lisbon, proceeded to the head-quarters of his army at Freynada, where

where every preparation was made to open the ensuing campaign with the greatest vigour. It appears from his Lordship's dispatches at this time (February 3d), that no alterations in the positions of either army had taken place; but, about the middle of this month, great changes were apparently taking place in the state of the French armies: and at Madrid they evidently shewed they did not expect to occupy that city beyond the middle of February at the furthest, acknowledging that they should abandon that point, in order to unite in Castille the three armies, of the centre, the south, and of Portugal.

Soult at this time was recalled for want of a proper understanding with Joseph. Gazan was appointed *pro tempore* to supersede Soult. The march of troops into France was now taking place to a great extent: for, besides the ten men per company of the artillery, and of other corps, ordered to proceed for France from the army of Portugal, 600 grenadiers of the Imperial guard, were also on their route; several whole regiments, with their sick and baggage, were pushing on for Valladolid and Vittoria, all with similar orders; and it was asserted, that with those who marched for France, and those who died in the hospitals, where almost all the conscripts that arrived in the autumn had perished, the army of Portugal was nearly reduced to a mere skeleton, in comparison with what it had been; for, by accounts from Madrid of the 24th, it amounted only to 31,220 infantry, and 3256 cavalry, and 2775 artillery men. At this period two several convoys had arrived from Valencia at Madrid, to the number of 600 carriages; the army of the south was also diminished by the returns into France; and Drouet, then commanding the army of the centre, had with him only 13,394 men, of whom 3248 were cavalry, and 511 artillerymen, with only ten pieces of cannon.

On the 28th of February, Soult, in consequence of his recal, left Toledo with 5000 men for France; and, in his journey, he was to unite with Caffarelli, D'Armagnac, and other generals; whilst Joseph himself was expected to take up his head quarters in that city, the Episcopal Palace having been prepared for his reception.

From the whole of these confused movements, it is easy
to

to see the state of perturbation in which the invaders must have been previous to the opening of that campaign, whose result has been so glorious to the allied arms.

About the middle of February, however, some war-like demonstrations were made by the enemy; who, after they had retired across the Tormes, and their troops had taken up their cantonments, those on the Upper Tormes collected again on the 19th from Piedraheta, Congosta, El Bano, and Avila; and on the morning of the 20th a body of about 1500 infantry and 100 cavalry, under the command of the General of Division Foy, endeavoured to surprise, and actually attacked Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's post at Bejar, consisting of the 56th regiment and 6th Portuguese Caçadores, which troops were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison of the 50th.

A little before day-break in the morning the allied picquets were attacked, and after some smart firing were obliged to fall back; but, on being reinforced by some companies of the 50th regiment, and the Caçadores, the assailants were driven back, leaving some dead: they then retired across the bridge on the road to Congosta and were for some time followed by Major Mitchell with the 6th Caçadores, which gallant officer had displayed great activity through the whole affair.

In the month of March, the system of withdrawing troops from Spain to assist in the war in Germany was still acted upon to a considerable extent by the French. In fact, they had already began to retire from their forward positions; for, independent of those officers and men selected for the disciplining of the conscripts, there were great numbers of particular descriptions of troops also recalled. In the early part of the month, the French found it necessary to evacuate Madrid; and Joseph found it expedient to take up his quarters at Valladolid with the whole of his court.

The British army, in the beginning of the month, still remained in its old position; but detachments of the cavalry were at times sent into Estremadura for the purpose of defending those who were employed in collecting provisions and forage: and Lord Wellington himself was extremely active, as well as during the close

of the preceding month, in visiting the frontier towns, and also the advanced posts, reviewing the several garrisons, and inspecting the different corps, previous to the opening of the campaign. It is stated, that at this moment the allied army was composed of 40,000 English infantry, and 8000 cavalry, independent of the Portuguese and Spaniards; and there was reason to expect that reinforcements, hospital returns, &c. would increase the cavalry to the number of 12,000 previous to the month of April, at which period the commencement of offensive operations was expected to take place.

Great changes were now taking place in the superior departments of the French army; and, as early as the 12th of the month, the arrival of several generals of division, coming from France, to take the command of several divisions hitherto commanded *ad interim* by generals of brigade, had been announced at Count O'Reille's head-quarters at Valladolid. Supplies also were sent to a certain extent; and it was known that a convoy was expected in Valladolid with clothing for the troops, which had already arrived as far as Vittoria, protected by a strong escort. In this convoy, also, was considerable property belonging to individuals in the French service, all of which indicated, on their parts, an intention of remaining in the Peninsula.

Some correspondent movements now began to take place in both armies; and a considerable part of the French troops in front of the British positions having been marched to Valladolid, the third brigade of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's division was in consequence advanced from Coria to Placencia, a movement whose evident aim was to take possession of that city, together with the bridge. In other respects, as far up as the 14th, no forward movements had taken place; but the troops from the interior were ordered up in all directions, and, amongst others, the 10th, 15th, and 18th Hussars proceeded from Lisbon to join the allied army. At this period, indeed, transports with all descriptions of English troops had arrived at Lisbon, whose number was estimated at 5000 men.

On reference to Lord Wellington's dispatches at this crisis, we see that no important movements had taken place on the part of the enemy: but the province of La Mancha

Mancha was completely freed from the hostile corps, and the force under Drouet, amounting to upwards of 14,000 men, had also left the vicinity of Madrid, where they had been for some time stationed.

On the 8th of April in the evening, General Castanos marched from Badajoz to Ciudad Rodrigo, at which time Lord Wellington had ordered rations for 100,000 men to be prepared at Truxillo: the Marquis indeed was still at head-quarters at Freynada, but the movements on all sides seemed to foretel the opening of the mighty contest. Sir Rowland Hill had now received orders to put himself in motion towards the Tagus, in which direction Castanos was also advancing; his head-quarters having hitherto been at Aldea near Truxillo, from whence he had gone to Badajoz in order to have a personal interview with the Commander-in-Chief.

Lord Wellington himself was not expected to move before the 12th of May, at which period it was supposed that the whole would be in readiness for all the British and Spanish armies to assume the offensive simultaneously, and thus to act upon a general plan. Whilst Lord Wellington and Sir Rowland Hill were to approach the Douro, it was expected that Sir John Murray would compel Suchet to evacuate Valencia, and fall back on the Murviedro, which it was supposed he would defend.

On the other hand, the French seemed to have determined on a combined defensive plan. Gazan had already evacuated Toledo, and Madrid also; but the abandonment of the capital under existing circumstances was not considered as an event of much importance either in a political or military point of view. As to the usurper himself, we have already seen, that he had removed to Valladolid, to be in the centre of his principal armies; of which Gazan's (late Soult's) was mostly spread along the right bank of the Tormes, Drouet's was in the Cega, and Reille's on the Pisuerga: the two former occupying the country in front of the Douro; the latter, that between Valladolid and Burgos.

From all circumstances it appeared that the French were determined to maintain as long as possible all tenable points. It was known that they were fortifying Toro and Tordesillas, as well as Burgos; thus shewing

that though they anticipated a retreat as far as behind the Ebro, still they did not mean hastily to abandon the Douro.

No movement of any consequence took place among the allied troops until the 30th of April. On that day, which may be considered the opening of the glorious campaign that was to follow, and which was to consummate, by the most brilliant successes, the labours of the allied armies, they began to leave Ciudad Rodrigo by the Sierra da Pinha de Franca. Don Carlos de España had orders to advance to Salamanca, to join the allied army; and the division of Morillo proceeded also for the same point, but, on its arrival at Caceres, received orders to suspend its march. General Silveira, however, with another gallant Spanish division, passed on by Alcantara, in order to join the allies.

The plan of the campaign appears to have been as follows. The combined army was to be divided into three columns, of which the right (supposing the front, at the outset, to extend from north to south along the confines of Portugal and Spain) would advance along the line of the Tagus to Toledo, where it was presumed it might perhaps be proper to form a junction with the army of Alicant under Sir John Murray. This column was to consist of the 2d division of the grand army under Sir Rowland Hill.

The second, or centre column, consisting of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, and light divisions, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Wellington, was to advance, as it finally did, by the route of Salamanca; and the immediate object of this corps, which comprised the main body of the army, was to drive the enemy from his positions on the right bank of the Douro, if he should attempt to maintain them.

The 3d column, forming the left, consisting of the 1st, 3d, and 8th divisions under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, was to march at first directly northward within the Portuguese frontier, through the province of Tralos Montes, to Braganza, whence it would enter Spain, turning the French corps on the Douro, and hastening their retreat, if they should not have retired previously. Sir Thomas Graham was then to take the line of Benevente to Burgos. The siege of that fortress (for
its

its evacuation could scarcely be expected) was then to have been formed, in further execution of the grand plan, when Lord Wellington, with such further part of the army, as it might be found necessary to carry so far northward, should have arrived in the Ebro; on the course of which river, and in the strong places behind it, the principal resistance was then expected.

As the ensuing campaign may be considered the most important of any that had yet been made in the Peninsula; and, as no doubt could be entertained, from the mighty preparations that were made by each party for the great contest, that it would be a decisive one, it may not be improper to go more into detail, and to shew what the strength of each was at the commencement of it. It appears, then, that the allied army was composed of the three nations, *viz.* the British, Portuguese, and Spanish. The amount of the British force was not short of 48,000 men, the whole of whom were reported effective. This force, as well as the whole allied army, was under the command of the Marquis of Wellington. The second in command was Lieutenant-General Graham; and the third, Sir Rowland Hill. The amount of the Spanish force, which accompanied the Commander-in-Chief, or which was sufficiently near to co-operate with him, was about 40,000 men; of which Generals Castanos and Giron, with the Gallician army, composed about 18,000, the two leaders Longa and Murillo, about 12,000, and Don Julian and other partisans, about 10,000. The Portuguese portion of the allied army was estimated at about 28,000 men. Thus the whole of the allied forces may be estimated at about 120,000 men.

A point of great consideration however is, that if such was the amount of the force actually in the field with the Marquis, the other portions of the allied armies, which were at this time in position in other parts of the Peninsula, must not altogether be omitted in this estimate, inasmuch as, either in the way of diversion, or by having parts of the intended general operation assigned to them, they were effectually competent members of the allied strength. This force was of three kinds—the Spanish regular armies, the Guerillas, and the Alicant expeditionary army under Sir J. Murray.

The Spanish armies were seven in number, and composed

posed altogether a force of about 130,000 men. The Catalonian, denominated the first army, about 8000 effective, was under the command of General Copons, and was at this period (May 1813) in its own province. The second and third armies (of Murcia and Valentia) composed a force of about 18,000, and were in Valentia, under the command of General Elio and the Duke de la Parque. The army of Andalusia, or the 4th, about 16,000 effective, was marching up under the Conde Ebisbal (General O'Donnel) to take part in the operations beyond the Douro. The army of Estremadura, or the 5th, might amount to about 10,000. The 6th army of Galicia, about 20,000 effective; and the 7th, or army of Asturias, about 5000, under Generals Castanos and Mendizabel, added to a corps under Espana of about 4000, composed the total of the Spanish regular force; of which about 40,000 were with the army of Lord Wellington, and the remainder either marching up, or occupied as already stated.

The Guerilla force was estimated at 25,000; of which the principal divisions (and which were at least equal to the regulars) were under Mina, Duran, the Empecinado, and Don Julian Sanchez. Mina, Duran, and Don Julian, with about 18,000 men, were at this time fully occupied in Navarre and Arragon.

The third branch of the absent force of the allies was the expeditionary army of Alicant under Sir John Murray. This might amount to about 15,000, of which 5000 were British and Germans, the remainder Maltese and Calabrians. But, as the strength of an army consists more in the military qualities, than in the mere numerical amount, of the soldiers, it is a matter of justice to add, that it is the general character of the Maltese that they are more troublesome to their commanders than to their enemy. The Calabrians, moreover, are of two species: the one actually Calabrians, whom dicipline, the English drill, and English officers, have rendered good soldiers; the other, Sicilians, upon whom all labour is thrown away. With this kind of deduction, the Marquis, we believe, rated the expeditionary army under Sir John Murray as equivalent to 10,000 bayonets.

There were five French armies at this period in the Peninsula, namely, those of the north, of the centre, of
Portugal,

Portugal, of the south, and of Arragon. The army of the north, under General Clausel, did not exceed 14,000 men; that of the centre, under King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan, was about the same number; and that of Portugal, scarcely 10,000. The army of the south, formerly Soult's army, but now under General Gazan, was estimated at 15,000; and the army of Arragon, under Marshal Suchet, about 22,000. The first four armies were all that the enemy could oppose in front to the advance of the Marquis; Marshal Suchet, and the commanders in Catalonia, being sufficiently occupied in maintaining that province. These commanders were Generals Decaen, La Marque, and Maurice Mathieu; all officers of experience, but who, having to maintain themselves against the Catalonian army and Guerillas on one flank, and against the British expedition on the other, could not spare a battalion to the operations on the Douro.

In the early part of May we may consider the campaign as on the point of commencing. At this precise period, the advanced posts of the enemy were behind the Tormes, from whence they had it in their power to retire leisurely behind the Douro, where their fortified places began; these were Toro, Tordesillas, Burgos, Pancorvo, and Miranda del Ebro, all strengthened and all formidable.

On the right of the British army there were 10,000 Spaniards at Aranjuez. General Hill had already moved to Palencia from Coria; the Conde d'Amaranthe's corps was in motion for Alcantara; and every horse and man was in full march through Portugal for their respective divisions.

At length, after considerable delay, the army under the Marquis of Wellington moved from its quarters; and, on the 26th of May, arrived at Salamanca, and found the enemy still in the town, with one division of infantry, and three squadrons of cavalry, and some cannon, of the army of the south, under the command of General Villate.

They evacuated the town, however, upon the British approach, but waited longer than they ought, with prudence, upon the high ground in the vicinity, and afforded Generals Fane and Victor Alten (the former of whom crossed the Tormes at the ford of Santa Martha, and the latter at the bridge) to do them a good deal of injury in the retreat.

Many

Many were killed or wounded, and about 200 taken prisoners, with seven tumbrils of ammunition, some baggage, provisions, &c. The French then retired by the road of Babila Fuente; and near Huerta were joined by a body of infantry and cavalry in their march from Alba, when Lord Wellington ordered the troops to discontinue their pursuit, the infantry not being up.

Major-General Longa and Brigadier-General Morillo, in command of the Spanish division, then attacked Alva, from which place the enemy retired; and in the course of the 27th and 28th, Lord Wellington established the troops which had marched from the Agueda and Upper Estremadura, between the Tormes and Douro, under the command of Sir Rowland Hill.

On the 29th, he then set off himself, with his usual activity, to join the troops at Carvajales, passing through Miranda de Douro in the same day, a distance of sixty miles, and was at his destination on the 30th. Here he found the troops under the orders of Sir Thomas Graham, as he had intended, with their left at Tabera, and in communication with the Gallician army, their right being at Carvajales, and all the arrangements made for passing the Esla. Indeed, on the very next morning (the 31st), the greatest part passed that river, the cavalry by fords, and the infantry by a bridge, which it was necessary to throw over the river, as it was so deep that some men, even of the cavalry, were lost in the passage. The English Hussars, who crossed first, took an officer and thirty men prisoners, near Villa Perdices.

On the 1st of June the allied troops had proceeded as far as Zamora, and on the 2d were at Toro, with several considerable detachments in advance. The English Hussars, being well forward, fell in, between Toro and Morales, with a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which were immediately attacked by the 10th, supported by the 18th and 15th, the 10th Royal Hussars being just brought forward under the orders of Major Roberts, who charged the advanced hostile squadrons in the most gallant manner. The front line of the French made a most determined resistance, but was instantly overpowered by the irresistible impetuosity of the 10th Hussars; who, being now supported by the 18th (the

15th

15th being kept in reserve), reached their second line, and drove it with loss to the heights two miles in front of Morales; a position which the enemy occupied with a large force of cavalry and infantry, and where the remains of their shattered squadrons took shelter under cover of their guns. The enemy's loss was great; and 210 prisoners, many horses, and two officers, fell into the hands of the British.

On the very same evening (the 2d), Don Julian Sanchez surprised the enemy's post at Castro-Nuno, and took two officers and thirty cavalry prisoners; and also drove their posts from the ford at Pollos.

The enemy, previous to this, had destroyed the bridges at Zamora and Toro, and the difficulties in the passage of the Esla had retarded the movements of the allied rear; while the enemy had concentrated their force to a considerable amount between Torrelabeton and Tordesillas. The Marquis, therefore, halted on the 3d at Toro, in order to bring the light division, and the troops under the command of Sir Rowland Hill, across the Douro, by the bridge of the town, and thus to close up the rear, and bring the Gallician army to join the allied left. But he moved again from this position on the 4th.

At this period the enemy had commenced collecting their troops towards the Douro, when they found that the British had passed Ciudad Rodrigo; and they had crossed the Douro at Tordesillas on the 1st and 2d: and it appeared that the troops at Madrid and the detachments on the Tagus, which had broken up towards the close of the preceding month, had now crossed the Douro at the Ponte de Toro on the 3d, whilst on the 4th Valladolid was entirely evacuated.

Such was the haste of the French, that they left considerable magazines of grain at Arevalo, and some ammunition at Valladolid and Zamora; and on the 6th they had passed the Carrion, and were apparently on their retreat towards Burgos.

On the 7th, the French had passed the Carrion; which river was immediately crossed by the allied army, who during the three succeeding days brought forward their left, and on the 10th passed the Pisuerga in close pursuit of the enemy. But the celerity of the march up to this period, and consequent fatigue of the troops, and

the necessary delay in the advance of stores, induced the prudent general to make short movements on the 11th, and even to halt the left on the following day. On that day, however, the 12th, he moved forward the right under Sir Rowland Hill, consisting of British and allies, with several brigades of cavalry, towards Burgos, with a view to reconnoitre the enemy's position and numbers near that town, and to force them to a decision either to abandon the castle to its fate, or to protect it with all their force.

The Marquis found the enemy posted with a considerable force, commanded by General Reille, on the heights on the left of the Hormazar, with their right above the village, and their left in front of Estepar. He immediately turned their right with the Hussars, and Brigadier-General Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and the light division from Isar; while General Victor Alten's brigade of cavalry, and the Honourable Colonel O'Callaghan's brigade of the 2d division, moved up the heights from Hormazar, and the remainder of the troops, under the command of Sir Rowland Hill, threatened the heights of Estepar.

These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of the allied left and centre were then entirely on the rear of the enemy, who were thus most judiciously forced to retire across the Arlanzon, by the high road towards Burgos.

This retreat, however was ably performed; for although pressed by the cavalry, and suffering considerable loss by the fire of Major Gardiner's troops of horse-artillery, and obliged to make their movements at an accelerated pace, that they might not give time to the allied infantry to come up, yet they still retreated in admirable order. They lost one gun, however, and some prisoners, taken by a squadron of the 14th light dragoons, commanded by Captain Milles, and a detachment of the 3d dragoons, which charged their rear.

They now took post on the left of the Arlanzon and Urbel rivers, which were much swelled by the rains; and in the course of the night retired their whole army through Burgos, having abandoned and destroyed, as far as they were able in the short space of time during which they were there, the works of the castle, which they

they had constructed and improved at so large an expence; and on the 13th of June they were in full retreat towards the Ebro, by the high road of Briviesca and Miranda*.

On the 13th, the whole of the allied army made a movement to the left; the Spanish corps of Galicia, under General Giron, and the left of the British and Portuguese armies, under Sir Thomas Graham, being pushed on in advance to cross the Ebro on the following day, whilst the Marquis himself kept his headquarters at Villa Diego.

That movement was accordingly performed on the 14th, by the bridges of St. Martin and Rocamunda; and on the succeeding day, the remainder of the allies crossed the Ebro by the same route and by the bridge of Puente Arenas, continuing their march on the following days towards Vittoria.

On the 16th and 17th, the enemy assembled a considerable corps at Espejo, not far from the Puente Carra, composed of some of the troops which had been for some time in the provinces in pursuit of Longa, of Mina, and others, detached from the main body of the army, which were still at Pancorbo. They had likewise a division of infantry and some cavalry at Fries, for the purpose of observing the allied movements on the left of the Ebro. These detachments marched early in the morning of the 18th; that from Fries upon St. Millan, where it was found by the light division of the allied army under Major-General Alten; and that from Espejo on Osma, where it met the 1st and 5th divisions under Sir Thomas Graham.

Major-General Alten, on his part, drove the enemy from St. Millan, and afterwards cut off the rear brigade of the division, of which he took 300 prisoners, killed

* The inner walls of the castle of Burgos were blown up by the enemy on the morning of the 13th, in consequence of the unexpectedly rapid advance of the allies; indeed, so great was the haste of the retreating army to perform this service that thirty of the garrison lost their lives by the explosion. This was some retribution for the base device by which so many poor Spaniards were blown up at St. Andero, by an unexploded mine. In one of the unexploded mines of Burgos 2300 loaded shells were found.

and wounded many, and the brigade itself was dispersed in the mountains.

The corps from Espejo was considerably stronger than that under Sir Thomas Graham, who had arrived nearly at the same time at Osma. The enemy of course, presuming on their numbers, moved on to the attack, but were soon obliged to retire; and they were followed to Espejo, from whence they returned through the hills to Subijana on the Bayas. It was late in the day before the other troops came up to the advanced position which Sir Thomas Graham had taken, and the Marquis halted the 4th division near Espejo, it having relieved the 5th in its former station.

On the 19th of June, the whole allied army moved forward to the river Bayas, on the left of which the Marquis found the enemy's rear in a strong position; having their right covered by Subijana, and their left by the heights in front of the Poves. He immediately turned their left with the light division, whilst the 4th, under Sir Lowry Cole, attacked them in front; and the whole of their rear guard was immediately driven back upon the main body of their army, which was then in march from Pancorbo to Vittoria, having broken up from the former place on the preceding evening, after completely dismantling it.

The French army, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as his Major-General, and consisting of the whole of the armies of the south and the centre, of four divisions and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north, took up a position on the night of the 19th of June in front of Vittoria, its left resting on the heights which terminate at Puebla d'Arlanzon, and extending from thence across the valley of Zadora, and its right stationed near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passages of the river Zadora near that city, while in the rear of their left they had a reserve in the village of Gomecha.

The nature of the country through which the allied army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended their column; the Marquis of Wellington therefore halted his troops on the 20th, to allow them time to close up. On the same day, he reconnoitred



Marshal Furdan

noitred the enemy's position, with a view for the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it. For the particulars of this glorious battle, fought on the 21st June 1813, we refer our readers to the Extraordinary Gazette published on the occasion, contenting ourselves with detailing in this place its principal occurrences.

The operations of the day commenced by Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not indeed occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division under General Murillo; the other brigade being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of the position, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent that Sir Rowland Hill was obliged to detach, first, the 71st regiment and the light infantry battalion of Major-General Walker's brigade under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; after which the allies not only gained but maintained possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable: General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and here also Colonel Cadogan received the fatal wound which deprived the service, his king, and country, of an officer of great zeal and tried gallantry*. Under cover of the possession of these heights, Sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadora at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river; and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in

* When the gallant Cadogan was wounded mortally, it was proposed to take him from the field; "No," said he; "my death is now certain and very near: suffer me to conclude my life with the pleasure of seeing the continuation of our triumph; carry me to an height from whence I can observe it." In effect he was carried to one, when his back was placed against a tree; and there soon after he expired, after expressing his satisfaction at having sacrificed his life in so good and glorious a cause.

front of the hostile line, and which the enemy made many attempts to regain.

The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between the different allied columns moving to the attack, from their stations on the river Bayas, at as early an hour as the Marquis of Wellington had expected; and it was late before he knew that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them.

The 4th and light divisions, however, passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alava; the former at the bridge of Nauclaus, and the latter at the bridge of 'Tres Puentes: and, almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendonza, and the 3d division, under Sir Thomas Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, and was followed by the 7th division, under the Earl of Dalhousie.

These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed; whilst Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Sabijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley, as soon as he saw the allied disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria; whilst the allied troops continued to advance in equally good order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

In the mean time, Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and General Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, with General Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, now moved forward from thence towards Vittoria by the high road from that town to Bilboa. Sir Thomas had, besides, with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, and marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Sir Thomas, if that support had been required.

The

The enemy had a division of infantry, and some cavalry, advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major. Both Gamarra and Abechuchcho were strongly occupied as *têtes de pont* to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-General Pack with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry under the command of Major-General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. In the execution of this service, the Spanish and Portuguese troops behaved most admirably: the 4th and 8th Caçadores particularly distinguished themselves; as did also the Spanish division, under Colonel Longa.

As soon as the heights were in possession of the allies, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musquetry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. In this assault the enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon.

Sir Thomas Graham then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuchcho, with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse-artillery; and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halket's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. This attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry. During the operation at Abechuchcho, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division under the command of Major-General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible for the allies to cross by the bridges until the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit,

pursuit, which was continued by all, until after it was dark.

The movement of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechueho, intercepted the enemy's retreat, by the high road into France; they were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pampluna, but they were unable to hold any position for any length of time to allow their artillery and baggage to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the former, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Aruney and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and in short every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria: so complete, indeed, was this part of the business, that they were able to carry off only one gun and one howitzer out of their formidable park of artillery.

Thus ended the glorious battle of Vittoria, which gave the death-blow to French despotism in Spain, and completed the measure of Spanish emancipation. The loss of the enemy in this battle was very great. There were taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, and treasure, and a considerable number of prisoners. Among the trophies was the *baton* of Marshal Jourdan. Joseph Buonaparte had a narrow escape from being taken prisoner. He was seated in a close carriage, which was pointed out by some of the prisoners. A detachment of cavalry, led by the Marquis of Worcester, made for it at full gallop, and actually cut down several of the escort. Captain Windham fired two pistol-shots at the carriage. The escort made a stand at a mill-dam; the carriage got through; and Joseph was seen to mount a horse on the opposite bank, with which he immediately galloped off. The loss of the allied army was also, as might be expected, very considerable; being about 700 killed, and 4000 wounded, of whom the greatest part were British. The talents of Lord Wellington were never more conspicuous than on this occasion; and to his admirable plans may be attributed the unexampled success of the day.

On the following day after this important victory, the allied army continued to pursue the enemy towards Pampluna,

Pampluna, doing them as much injury as in their power, considering the state of the weather and of the roads.

On the 24th, the advanced guard of the allied army, consisting of Major-General Victor Baron Alten's brigade, and the 1st and 3d battalions of the 95th regiment, with Major Ross's troop of horse artillery, pressed so close upon their rear, as to be enabled to take from the flying enemy the only gun they had preserved out of their immense park of artillery. The main body, therefore, entered Pampluna with one howitzer only.

It appears, that General Clausel, who had under his command that part of the army of the north, and one division of the army of Portugal, which were not in the battle, had approached Vittoria on the following day, not having been near enough to ascertain the result of the cannonade which he must doubtless have heard; there, however, he heard of the defeat, and there too he found Major-General Pakenham with the 6th division, so that he found it convenient to retire upon La Guerdia.

From all circumstances, the Marquis of Wellington now took it for granted that the whole of the enemy would continue their retreat into France: he therefore detached General Giron with the Gallician army in pursuit of the convoy which had moved from Vittoria on the morning of the 20th, in hopes of his overtaking it before it could reach Bayonne; whilst the British and allies followed the track of the retreating troops.

The discomfited army of the usurper did not venture, on its arrival at Pampluna, to seek refuge there, where, from want of provisions, it would soon have been reduced to the necessity of surrendering; but, on the 25th, it continued its route by the Roncevalles road toward the town of St. Jean de Pied de Port, in France.

Pampluna was immediately invested by a detachment of the Spanish army, whilst the light troops went in pursuit of the straggling fugitives.

Sir Thomas Graham had in the mean time taken possession of Tolosa, after two actions with the enemy, in which they sustained considerable loss. He continued to push them along the road to France, dislodging them from all their strong posts; and a brigade of the army of Galicia, under General Castanos, drove them across the Bidassoa (the boundary river), over the bridge of Irun.

The garrison of Passages surrendered on the 30th, to the troops of Longa; and St. Sebastian was blockaded by a Spanish detachment. A garrison being left by the enemy in Pancorbo, commanding the road from Vittoria to Burgos, Lord Wellington directed the Conde del Abisal to make himself master of the place; which he effected, the garrison surrendering themselves prisoners of war. General Clausel having remained some time in the neighbourhood of Logrono, hopes were conceived of being able to intercept him; and a force of light troops and cavalry were detached towards Tudela for that purpose. By extraordinary forced marches, however, he arrived first at Tudela, whence he made good his retreat to Saragossa, followed by Mina, who took some guns and prisoners.

Having followed the operations of the allied army thus far, it may not be amiss to notice a few transactions, in Spain and at home, connected with the glorious battle of Vittoria, and the illustrious subject of our present biography. No sooner had the Spanish Cortes been officially apprised of this great event, which consummated their independence, than they immediately, by acclamation, voted their thanks to the great hero who had achieved so much for their country. A deputation was sent to compliment the English ambassador at Cadiz, the brother of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; medals were ordered to be struck, in commemoration of this great event; and Senor Arguellas, one of the members of the Cortes, rose in his place, and said—"Although the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo does not require fresh proofs to be convinced of the pure sentiments of gratitude which animate the Cortes in respect to this illustrious Captain, I think that the time is now arrived when the Cortes should bestow upon him a territorial property, as it has already elevated him to the first class of the civil order. I therefore propose, 1st. That the Cortes bestow upon the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo a territorial property of the national domains, administered on account of the national treasury, for which purpose the Regency will propose to the Cortes what it conceives suitable to the merits of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the generosity of the Spanish nation: 2d. That the title of possession which shall be prepared shall contain the following words—"In the name of the Spanish

Spanish nation, in testimony of its most sincere gratitude." This was approved without discussion; and the day was marked throughout Cadiz by all those rejoicings which were naturally called forth in celebrating a victory so brilliant, so opportune, so honourable to the brave troops which obtained it, and to the illustrious chief who prepared and directed its achievement.

On the 11th of July, the Cortes, still anxious to celebrate the late brilliant victory, published a decree, stating, that "the General and Extraordinary Cortes, wishing to transmit to the most distant posterity the memory of the late glorious victory which the allied army gained under the command of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 21st of June, over the enemy, commanded by the intrusive king, in the fields of Vittoria, decreed as follows:—

"1st. When circumstances admit of it, there shall be erected, in the situation best calculated for that purpose, in the fields of Vittoria, and in the manner which Government shall consider the most proper, a Monument, which shall record to the latest generations this memorable battle.

"2d. The political chief, and provincial deputation of Alava, shall charge themselves with the execution of this monument."

The proposed grant of a territorial property to the Marquis of Wellington was further taken into consideration on the 22d of July, when the Regency stated, that, in answer to an address of the Cortes, for appropriating an estate to their gallant Generalissimo, they were of opinion that the estate well known in the valley of Granada by the name of *Soto de Roma* should be bestowed upon him. This recommendation was referred to a commission; which reported next day their opinion that the Cortes ought to approve of the appropriation of the said fief to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, his heirs and successors, comprehending therein the territory of *Las Chanchinas*.

On the estate, which is estimated at £10,000 *per annum* when Spain shall recover from her dreadful losses, there is a large park, celebrated in Spanish history, inclosed and improved by the Emperor Charles V. remarkable for the fineness of its timber, and the luxuriancy of its vegetation, as well as for its being the only place where

there are any pheasants in Spain, and which it is supposed were first brought there by that Emperor. There is only, however, a small hunting-seat upon it, which was the retreat of Bernardo Wall, minister of Spain during the latter years of Ferdinand the Sixth, and beginning of Charles the Third's reign. It was afterwards granted to the Prince of Peace; and, if not injured by his rapacity and avarice, must still be a beautiful place, worthy of the donors, and of him on whom it is bestowed.

It is worthy of remark, that when the Spanish Regency wished to carry into execution the unanimous vote of the Cortes for this solid and enduring monument of the gratitude of their nation for the transcendant services rendered to it, no less than three royal estates were submitted to the British general for his choice; when, with that disinterestedness and taste which are known so agreeably to temper the splendour of his military fame, he gave the preference to that which was lowest in actual value, but which came recommended to his fancy by the beauty of its situation, and the amenities of its scenery already noticed. Its precise situation is on the river Xenil, in the kingdom of Granada; and its present annual produce has been estimated at 30,000 dollars.

We now turn our attention to proceedings at home, arising from the battle of Vittoria. The news of this great event no sooner reached the British shores, than an universal feeling of exultation pervaded all classes. A day of thanksgiving was ordered to be held, not only for the victory of Vittoria, but also for the repeated successes obtained by the allied forces over the French army in Spain. On the 3d, a notification took place in the Gazette, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent being pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to nominate and appoint General Arthur the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. to be FIELD-MARSHAL in the British army, taking rank from the 21st of June 1813, the day of his brilliant victory.

On the very day on which the glorious news arrived, the following letter was addressed to the gallant general by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent:—

“ Carlton House, July 3d, 1813.

“ MY DEAR LORD—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language

language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French Marshal, and I send you in return that of England.

“ The British army will hail it with enthusiasm ; while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it.

“ That uninterrupted health and still increasing laurels may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of,

“ My dear Lord,

“ Your very sincere and faithful friend,

“ G. P. R.”

“ *The Marquis of Wellington.*”

It would be tedious here to enumerate all the occurrences at home connected with the splendid triumph which had so recently been achieved. It is sufficient to say, they were of a description eminently qualified to testify the high sense in which the services of his Grace the Duke of Wellington were held by his country ; and all classes appeared eager to evince, by their own conduct on this occasion, how much and how deservedly high they held the merits and services of this illustrious general. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were, as usual, voted to him and his brave companions in arms.

Having thus briefly noticed the occurrences in Spain and at home, as connected with the military operations under the Marquis of Wellington, we shall now resume our account of the latter ; when we shall have to record fresh triumphs of his genius and talents, and events big with still greater importance than any which had hitherto crowned his efforts.

As yet the fortress of Pampluna was only blockaded ; but the arrangements for its siege and that of St. Sebastian were now carrying on upon a most extensive scale. The battering train arrived at Santander on the 29th of June, with ordnance stores ; on the 30th, it sailed from thence to Deba, and was to move from Deba by Tolosa to Pampluna,

pluna, and every arrangement with respect to provisions, ammunition, &c. were in full forwardness. All the intrenching tools were also arrived: and so anxious and alert was Lord Wellington to avail himself of all the resources from the late victory, that he had even ordered balls to be cast at Santander for the French 12-pounders taken; and these were sending off to the army at the rate of a thousand per day.

Notwithstanding the French had withdrawn both their right and left into France, yet they still maintained their centre in strength in the valley of Bastan, of which, on account of its richness, and the strong position it afforded, they appeared determined to keep possession; and had assembled there three divisions of the army of the south, under the command of General Gazan.

Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, however, having been relieved from the blockade of Pampluna, dislodged them successively from all their positions, on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, with two brigades of British and one of Portuguese infantry, of the 2d division, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Honourable W. Stewart; and with one brigade of the Portuguese infantry of the Conde d'Amaranthe's division, under the command of that officer, and they retired into France. The siege of St. Sebastian was now proceeding, under the direction of Sir Thomas Graham; and on the 12th of July, the first parallel was opened. On the 17th, the fortified convent of St. Bartholomew, and an adjoining work on a steep hill, were carried by assault. The operations on the border between France and Spain had hitherto been upon a comparatively small scale; but, towards the close of July, an effort was made by the French to ward off the impending invasion of their own country, which brought into action the whole force on both sides, and gave birth to some of the most sanguinary battles that had yet been fought, and displayed a greater degree of skill, if possible, than had yet been shewn in the long course of these military operations.

Marshal Soult had been already appointed "Lieutenant de l'Empereur," and Commander-in-Chief of the French armies in Spain and the southern provinces of France, by an "Imperial Decree" of the 1st of July; and he had arrived and taken the command of the army
on

on the 13th of July; which, having been joined nearly about the same time by the corps which had been in Spain under General Clausel, and by other reinforcements, was now called "the army of Spain," and reformed into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of General Reille, Count d'Erlon, and General Clausel, as Lieutenant-Generals, and a reserve under General Villatte, besides two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, (the former under the command of Generals Treillard and Tilly, and the latter under that of General Pierre Soult). There was also allotted to this army a large proportion of artillery, and by the middle of July a considerable number of guns had already joined.

Previous to his advance, Marshal Soult addressed the following proclamation to his soldiers; to be read at the head of companies in each regiment:—

"Soldiers!—The recent events of the war have induced his Majesty the Emperor to invest me, by an Imperial decree of the 1st instant, with the command of the armies of Spain, and to honour me with the flattering title of his *Lieutenant*. This high distinction cannot but convey to my mind sensations of gratitude and joy; but they are not unalloyed with regret at the train of events which have, in the opinion of his Majesty, rendered such an appointment necessary in Spain.

"It is known to you, soldiers, that the enmity of Russia, roused into active hostility by the eternal enemy of the Continent, made it incumbent that numerous armies should be assembled in Germany early in the spring. For this purpose were many of your comrades withdrawn. The Emperor himself assumed the command; and the armies of France, guided by his powerful and commanding genius, achieved a succession of as brilliant victories as any that adorn the annals of our country. The presumptuous hopes of aggrandizement entertained by the enemy were confounded. Pacific overtures were made; and the Emperor, always inclined to consult the welfare of his subjects, by following moderate councils, listened to the proposals that were made.

"While Germany was thus the theatre of great events, that enemy, who, under the pretence of succouring the inhabitants of the Peninsula, has in reality devoted them
to

to ruin, was not inactive. He assembled the whole of the disposable force—English, Spaniards, and Portuguese—under his most experienced officers; and, relying on the superiority of his numbers, advanced in three divisions against the French force assembled upon the Douro. With well-provided fortresses in his front and rear, a skilful general, enjoying the confidence of his troops, might, by selecting good positions, have braved and discomfited this motley levy. But unhappily, at this critical period, timorous and pusillanimous counsels were followed. The fortresses were abandoned and blown up; hasty and disorderly marches gave confidence to the enemy; and a veteran army, small indeed in number, but great in all that constitutes a military character, which had fought, bled, and triumphed in every province of Spain, beheld with indignation its laurels tarnished, and itself compelled to abandon all its acquisitions—the trophies of many a well-fought and bloody day.

“ When, at length, the indignant voice of the troops arrested this disgraceful flight, and its commander, touched with shame, yielded to the general desire, and determined upon giving battle near Vittoria, who can doubt—from this generous enthusiasm—this fine sense of honour—what would have been the result, had the general been worthy of his troops? had he, in short, made those dispositions and movements which would have secured, to one part of his army, the co-operation and support of the other.

“ Let us not, however, defraud the enemy of the praise which is due to him. The dispositions and arrangements of their general have been prompt, skilful, and consecutive. The valour and steadiness of his troops have been praiseworthy. Yet do not forget that it is to the benefit of your example they owe their present military character; and that whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops have been ably fulfilled, their enemies have commonly had no other resource than flight.

“ Soldiers!—I partake of your chagrin, your grief, your indignation. I know that the blame of the present situation of the army is imputable to others—be the merit of repairing it yours. I have borne testimony to the Emperor of your bravery and zeal. His instructions are
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to drive the enemy from these lofty heights which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and chase them across the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and from thence your resources drawn. No difficulties can be insurmountable to your valour and devotion. Let us then exert ourselves with mutual ardour: and be assured that nothing can give greater felicity to the paternal heart of the Emperor, than the knowledge of the triumphs of his army—of its increasing glory—of its having rendered itself worthy of him and of our country.

“ Extensive, but combined movements for the relief of the fortresses are upon the eve of taking place. They will be completed in a few days. Let the account of our successes be dated from Vittoria—and the birth of his Imperial Majesty be celebrated in that city; so shall we render memorable an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen.

“ SOULT, DUKE OF DALMATIA,
 “ *July 23d, 1813.* “ *Lieutenant de l'Empereur, &c.*”

Towards the 24th of July, the allied army was posted in the passages of the mountains. Major-General Byng's brigade of British infantry, and General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right, in the pass of Roncevallès; Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Visenet, to support these troops; and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, was at Olaque in reserve.

Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan, with the remainder of the second division, and the Portuguese division under the Conde de Amaranthe; detaching General Campbell's brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, the town of Vera, and the Puerta de Eschalar, and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; whilst the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera, and those under Sir Thomas Graham and Marshal del Campo Giron on the great road; Pampluna being blockaded by the Conde Abisbal.

Such were the positions of the allied army previous to

the BATTLE OF THE PYRENEES; and, on the 24th, Marshal Soult collected the two wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and on the 25th attacked, with between 30 and 40,000 men, General Byng's post at Roncevalles.

Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support with the fourth division; and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day: but the enemy turned it in the afternoon, on which Sir Lowry Cole considered it necessary to retire in the night, marching to the vicinity of Zubiri.

These troops were obliged at first to give way; but, having been soon after supported by Major General Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, they regained the most important part of their post, which they could have held, had not the retreat of Sir L. Cole rendered it also expedient for them to retire. On the 27th, Sir L. Cole and Sir Thomas Picton, thinking the post to which they had retreated not tenable, drew further back, to a position to cover the blockade of Pampluna. Their force consisted of the 2d and 4th divisions of the allied army; and as they were taking their ground, they were joined by the Marquis of Wellington. Shortly after, the enemy made an attack on a hill upon the right of the 4th division, the importance of which post rendered it an object of vigorous assault and defence during that and the following day, and the enemy was finally repulsed. On the 28th, the 6th division joined, which, as soon as it had taken its position, was attacked by a large body of the enemy, who were driven back with immense loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the 4th division, and in every part was in favour of the allies, excepting where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment of Major-General Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give way immediately on the right of Major-General Ross's brigade, the enemy established themselves on the allied line, and the Major-General was obliged to withdraw from his post. This, however, did not pass unseen by the Marquis of Wellington, who immediately ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, first, that body of
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the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and, next, those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the 6th division having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the 4th, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued but very faintly on other points of the line.

On the 29th and 30th, various operations were carried on, too intricate to be summarily described. On the latter day, Lord Wellington directed an attack upon the enemy; the success of which obliged him to abandon a position, said by his Lordship to be one of the strongest and most difficult of access that he had yet seen occupied by troops. In their retreat from it, the French lost a great number of prisoners. A separate attack upon Sir Rowland Hill's position was also repelled, after a hard contest; and on the night of August the 1st, the allied army was nearly in the same position which it occupied on the 25th of July.

The Marquis of Wellington, throughout the whole of these trying conflicts, was enabled to bestow the highest commendation on the behaviour of the troops of the different nations; and it must be admitted, that in none of the actions during this war was more military skill displayed by the commanders, or steady valour by the soldiers.

One more exploit yet remains to be noticed. The enemy continuing posted, on the 2d, with two divisions on the Puerto de Echelar, and nearly their whole army behind the Puerto, Lord Wellington determined to dislodge them by a combined movement of three advanced divisions. One of these, however, the 7th, under the command of Major-General Barnes, being first formed, commenced the attack by itself, and actually drove the enemy from the formidable heights they occupied. This part of the Spanish frontier was then entirely cleared of the enemy.

The loss of the French in all these affairs was very considerable, in both officers and men: it is supposed to have amounted to 15,000 men, of whom 4000 were prisoners. That of the allies was also considerable, though scarcely equal to what might have been expected from

the warmth and variety of the actions in which they were engaged. A serious addition to this loss was made by an unsuccessful attempt upon St. Sebastian, on the 25th.

Early on that day, the assault was made on the breach in the wall on the left flank of the works; and the time chosen for it was, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after day-light. But, as Sir Thomas Graham observed in his report, notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom did force their way into the town, this attack did not succeed, as the enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way; from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musquetry, flanking and enfilading the column, and also to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary at length to desist from the assault.

On this occasion the third battalion of Royal Scots, which led the attack, suffered severely in men and officers; and the whole loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was nearly 900.

From the 4th to the 11th of August, no material movements took place, either with the French or allied armies; but, on the latter day, the Marquis received intelligence of a fortunate co-operation on the part of General Mina, who, a few days previous, had got possession of the enemy's fortified post at Saragossa, by capitulation, where he had taken about five hundred prisoners, forty-seven pieces of cannon, besides a vast quantity of ammunition, arms, clothing, &c. The head-quarters of the allied army were still at Lezaca, and both armies in a quiescent state.

Hitherto the besieging army before St. Sebastian had desisted from any fresh attack upon that fortress; but, on the 26th of August, the fire was re-opened, and directed against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face, against the demi-bastion on the south-eastern angle, and on the termination of the curtain of the southern face.

The Marquis of Wellington having directed Sir Thomas Graham to attack and form a lodgment on the breach, which now extended to a large surface of the left

left of the fortifications, the assault commenced at eleven in the forenoon of the 31st of August, by a combined column of English and Portuguese. The external appearance of the breach, however, proved extremely fallacious; for when the column, after being exposed to a heavy fire of shot and shells, arrived at the foot of the wall, it found a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet to the level of the streets, leaving only one accessible point, formed by the breaching of the end and front of the curtain, and which admitted an entrance only by single files. In this situation, the assailants made repeated but fruitless endeavours to gain an entrance; no man surviving the attempt to gain the narrow ridge of the curtain.

In this almost desperate state of the attack, the gallant Graham, after consulting with Colonel Dickson, in command of the royal artillery, adopted a plan of a most unprecedented nature, but which displayed not only a most admirable genius, but also a dependence upon the coolness and steadiness of the troops, worthy both of him and them; for, as he said, he now *ventured* to order the guns of the besieging batteries to be turned against the curtain where our own troops were actually engaged. In consequence of this, a heavy fire of artillery was directed against it; passing a few feet only over the heads of the assailants in the breach: and this was "kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example."

In the mean time, a Portuguese brigade was ordered to ford the river, near its mouth, and attack the small breach to the right of the great one. The success of this manœuvre, joined to the effect of the batteries upon the curtain, at length gave an opportunity for the troops to establish themselves on the narrow pass, after a most determined assault of two hours; and, in an hour more, the defenders were driven from all their complicated works, and retired, with great loss, to the castle, leaving the town in full possession of the assailants. A prize thus contended for, could not but cost dear to the besieging army; their loss amounted to above 2300 killed and wounded: but the possession of this place was of the last importance to the further operations of the campaign. The light in which it was regarded by the enemy appeared from the vigorous effort made for its relief.

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After the fire against St. Sebastian had recommenced, the French had drawn the greatest part of their force to one point, which convinced Lord Wellington of their intentions. Three divisions of the Spanish army were therefore posted upon the heights near the town of Irun, commanding the high road to St. Sebastian, and were strengthened by a British and Portuguese division on the right and left, whilst other troops occupied different positions for their greater security. Early in the morning of the 31st, the enemy crossed the Bidassoa, in great force, and made a desperate attack on the whole front of the Spanish position, on the heights of San Marcial, but were repeatedly repulsed with great gallantry by the Spanish troops. In the afternoon, the French, having thrown a bridge over another part of the river renewed their attack, but were again repulsed; and at length, they took the advantage of a violent storm to retire from this front entirely. Another attack was made by the French upon a Portuguese brigade, on the bank of the Bidassoa, which some British troops were moved to support. In fine, after a variety of operations, this second attempt to prevent the establishment of the allies upon the frontiers was defeated by a part only of the allied army, at the very moment when the town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm.

The success in this quarter was rendered complete, by the surrender, on the 8th of September, of the castle of St. Sebastian. Ever since the capture of the town, a vertical fire had been kept up against that fortress, with great loss to the garrison; and the batteries being completed by the indefatigable exertions of the troops, on the 8th a fire was opened with such effect, that in three hours a flag of truce was hoisted, and a capitulation was entered upon, the terms of which were soon concluded. The garrison, now amounting to about 1800, remained prisoners of war; and all the ordnance, stores, &c. were the prize of the victors. In the capture of the castle, as well as in the preceding operations, the assistance of the naval force stationed off the place, under Sir George Collier, was of eminent service, and was liberally acknowledged by the land officers. Sir George Collier styled St. Sebastian the Northern Gibraltar of Spain. The unfortunate town was a great sufferer from the siege; and, at the storm, out-
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rages were perpetrated on the inhabitants which humanity must lament, although, perhaps, inseparable from such an action, when the passions of the soldiers are exasperated, and it is scarcely possible to preserve strict military discipline.

The reduction of the town and castle of St Sebastian, had now left the frontiers of France exposed to the invasion of the allied army. We accordingly find that, for some time previous to this event taking place, Lord Wellington had been preparing most formidable means for carrying on the war on the French territory. The force which he had now collected for this great enterprise amounted to 57,000 British and Portuguese, and 35,000 Spaniards in a very high state of discipline, making in all 92,000 infantry; to which were to be added 10,000 cavalry, and 8000 belonging to the artillery, engineer, and waggon corps: so that he might pass the hostile frontier with a body of 110,000 men. There were, besides, 20,000 sick and wounded; but many of these were convalescents, and daily joining the army.

We have now arrived at a proud epoch in the annals of the life of our illustrious hero. We have traced him from the commencement of his public life to the present glorious consummation (we might almost say) of his great labours; and have, in all situations in which we have seen him placed, found him equal to its duties. A new scene now opens to our view: the war, which had hitherto been carried on with such persevering obstinacy on the Spanish soil, was now, after so many years of labour, of glory, and renown, to be transferred to an hostile land; and the proud triumph of planting the British flag on the Gallic territory was reserved to the illustrious chief who had so eminently proved himself worthy of this additional glory.

Previous to his Lordship's advance, he issued the following general order of the day to his army:—

“ 1. The commander of the forces is anxious to direct the attention of the officers of the army to the situation in which they have hitherto been amongst the people of Portugal and Spain, and that in which they may hereafter find themselves among those of the frontiers of France.

“ 2. Every

“ 2. Every military precaution must, henceforward, be used to obtain intelligence and prevent surprise; general and superior officers at the head of detached corps, will take care to keep a constant communication with the corps upon their right and left, and with their rear; and the soldiers and their followers must be prevented from leaving their camps and cantonments, on any account whatever.

“ 3. Notwithstanding that these precautions are absolutely necessary, as the country in front of the army is the enemy's, the commander of the forces is particularly desirous that the inhabitants should be well-treated, and private property must be respected.

“ 4. Officers and soldiers must recollect, that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke; and they must not forget, that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy, in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal have been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties, authorized and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country.

“ 5. To revenge this conduct upon the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly, and unworthy of the nations to whom the commander of the forces now addresses himself; and, at all events, would be the occasion of similar and worse evils to the army at large, than those which the enemy's army has suffered in the peninsula, and would eventually prove highly injurious to the public interests.

“ 6. The rules, therefore, which have been hitherto observed in requiring, and taking, and giving receipts for the supplies from the country, are to be continued in the villages on the French frontiers; and the commissaries attached to each of the armies of the several nations will receive the orders from the commander-in-chief of the army of his nation, respecting the mode and period of paying such supplies.”

Every preparation being now made, the great event of passing the French frontier took place on the 7th of October; on which day, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham directed the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese

Portuguese brigade under Brigadier-General Wilson, to cross the Bidassoa in three columns below, and one column above the site of the bridge, under the command of Major-General Hay, the Honourable Colonel Greville, Major-General the Honourable Edward Stopford, and Major-General Howard; and Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre directed that part of the 4th Spanish army under his immediate command to cross in three columns at fords above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye; while the latter should carry those on the Montagne Verte, and on the height of Mandall, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.

The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one in those by them.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, having thus established the allied army on the French territory, resigned, in consequence of ill health, his command to Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope.

Whilst the above operations were carrying on, Major-General Alten, with the light division, supported by a Spanish division under Longa and Giron, attacked the entrenchments and posts on a mountain called La Rhune, which they carried; the light division taking 22 officers and 400 men prisoners, with three pieces of cannon. These latter troops, indeed, carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands, and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of the mountain with the right of the Spanish troops.

Some time elapsed on the morning of the 8th, before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable Lord Wellington to reconnoitre the mountain, which he did in person, and which he found to be least inaccessible by its right, and also that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's

works in front of the camp of Sarra. He accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to the right; and as soon as the concentration commenced, Marischal del Campo Don Pedro Giron ordered the battalion De las Ordenes to attack the French post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by the troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. These troops now followed up their success, and carried the entrenchment on a hill which protected the right of the camp of Sarra; and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments sent from the 7th division by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschalar, for this purpose.

Don Pedro Giron next established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the hermitage; but it was then too late to proceed further that night: the French, however, thought proper before morning not only to retire from the post of the hermitage, but also from the camp of Sarra itself.

All these operations were conducted with great bravery and good order; and the loss of the allies, amounting to between 15 and 1600, in killed, wounded, and missing, may be regarded as moderate, for the extent and importance of the action.

In the night of the 12th, the French attacked and carried an advanced redoubt of the camp of Sarre, with the men posted in it; and on the following morning they made an attack on the advanced posts of the army of Andalusia, but were easily repulsed. At this time a considerable reinforcement of troops, raised by the conscription, had joined the enemy.

The fall of the strong fortress of Pampluna, the capital of Navarre, completed the liberation of that part of Spain from the French arms. The garrison, on the 26th of October, made proposals of capitulation to Don Carlos D'España, the commander before the place, but upon conditions that could not be accepted; and on the 31st of that month they surrendered, on the indispensable terms of being made prisoners of war, and sent away to England.

The condition of becoming prisoners of war was exacted

exacted by Lord Wellington from all the French garrisons, for the obvious purpose of preventing the augmentation of their armies in other quarters, by the return of the veteran troops in Spain; a policy which it was of the utmost consequence to follow at this critical moment in the fortunes of the Emperor Napoleon, whose power and existence was menaced by a world in arms.

During the siege of Pampluna commencing in the beginning of August, the sorties of the garrison had always been repulsed with loss, and the conduct of the commander and troops constantly merited applause. Don Carlos had received a severe wound; but, having reported himself able to perform his duty, he was justly suffered to reap the honour of the final success.

It is stated as a fact, that, after the fall of this fortress, Buonaparte wrote a letter to Soult, accusing him of not doing his utmost to prevent such an event. The answer to this charge, we are told, fell into the hands of Lord Wellington, and was by him sent to ministers at home. It was extremely curious; and, after repeating the charge that Soult had not exerted himself to the utmost, that doughty Marshal observed—"Besides, Sire, the French troops are not what they were; they have not the *elan* (the spring) which they possessed during the days of the republic." This severe and most just reproof certainly never reached Napoleon, unless a duplicate may have been transmitted; but it must be acknowledged that it contained the secret of all his triumphs, and of all his reverses.

The surrender of Pampluna having disengaged the right of the allied army from the service of covering the blockade, Lord Wellington did not delay to put in execution a meditated operation against the troops opposed to him in France. From the beginning of August, the French army occupied a position, with their right upon the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz, and on the left of the Nivelle; their centre on La Petite la Rhune in Sarre, and on the heights behind the village; and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry under the Comte D'Erlon, on the right of that river, on a strong height in rear of Anhoue, and on the mountain of Mondarin, which protected the approach to that village. They had one division under General Foy at St. Jean Pied de Port, which

was joined by one of the army of Arragon, under General Paris, at the time the left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa, on the 7th of October. General Foy's division joined those on the heights behind Anhoue, when Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill moved into the valley of Bastan. The enemy, not satisfied with the natural strength of this position, had the whole of it fortified; and their right, in particular, had been made so strong, that he did not deem it expedient to attack it in front. Indeed, Soult had been so determined to strengthen this position, that he superintended the works himself.

Heavy rains obliged the Marquis of Wellington to defer his attack until the 10th of November; when he completely succeeded in carrying all the positions on the enemy's left and centre, in separating the former from the latter, and by these means turning the enemy's strong positions occupied by their right on the Lower Nivelles, which they were obliged to evacuate during the night; having taken 51 pieces of cannon, and 1400 prisoners. The object of the attack being to force the enemy's centre, and to establish the army in rear of their right, the attack was made in columns of divisions, each led by a general officer commanding it, and each forming its own reserve. Sir Rowland Hill directed the movements of the division on the right; and Marshal Beresford, those of the centre. It would be tedious and uninteresting here to follow all the operations of the day, which were of a very complicated nature: it is sufficient to say, they began at day-light, and their variety, with the resistance opposed by the enemy, caused it to be night before the army had effected the purpose of gaining the rear of the enemy's right.

The enemy evacuated Ascain in the afternoon, of which village Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre took possession; and quitted all their works and positions in front of St. Jean de Luz during the night, and retired upon Bidart, destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelles. Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir John Hope followed them with the left of the army, as soon as he could cross the river; and Marshal Sir William Beresford moved the centre of the army as far as the state of the roads after a violent fall of rain would allow: and the enemy retired again on the night of the 11th, into an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne.

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The Marquis observed, that, in the course of these operations, in which he had driven the enemy from positions which they had been fortifying with great labour and care for three months, in which we had taken 51 pieces of cannon, 6 tumbrils of ammunition, and 1400 prisoners, he had great satisfaction in reporting the good conduct of all the officers and troops.

The loss in his army, though severe, he says, was not so great as might, from circumstances, be expected, no general officer having fallen. The consequence of this victory to the allied army was such as to put it in complete possession of the whole of the French positions on both sides of the river Nivelle, which, passing by Mondorin, Anthoue, and St. Pé, falls into the sea at St. Jean de Luz, about 16 miles from Bayonne.

Nearly parallel to the Nivelle flows a larger river, called the Nive, which joins the Adour at Bayonne; and it was over the Nive that the French left and centre, after their defeat, retreated by the bridge of Cambo, where they were in some measure covered with a strong *tête du pont*. The French right was not attacked; but, as it was turned by the operations of the allied army during the battle, it became necessary for it to retreat along the coast road as far as Bidoit, where it found shelter in the entrenched camp which had been previously constructed with great labour in front of Bayonne, covered by a strong redoubt.

After the action, and up to the 21st of November, Sir John Hope commanded the left of the allied army in the position of Bidort; Marshal Beresford occupied the heights beyond the Nivelle, about one league in advance from St. Pé, having his front covered by the Nive at the distance of a mile; whilst Sir Rowland Hill watched Davoust's division of the French army who had possession of the *tête du pont* at Cambo, the allied right being extended through Espilett.

The pause which now took place in the operations of the hostile armies, gave an opportunity to Lord Wellington to attend to the comforts of his army: he gave directions for their being well hutted and protected from the weather; and, from the wise regulations which he had previously established, the French peasantry were upon the best terms with his army, bringing forward abundant supplies

supplies of every thing necessary for comfort, and even for luxury.

After the retreat of the French from the Nivelle, they had occupied a very strong position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with great labour. It appeared to be under the fire of the works of the place, the right resting upon the Adour, and the front covered by a morass occasioned by a rivulet which falls into the Adour; the right of the centre rested upon this same morass, and its left upon the river Nive. The left was between the Nive and the Adour; on which river the left rested. They had their advanced posts from their right in front of Anglet, and towards Biarritz; with their left they defended the river Nive, and communicated with General Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, which was at St. Jean Pied de Port, and they had a considerable corps cantoned in Ville Franche and Monguerre.

It was impossible to attack the enemy in this position, as long as they remained in force in it; but Lord Wellington determined, by one of his bold manœuvres, to force Soult to adopt such a plan of tactics, as would enable his Lordship to prevent him from availing himself of his defensive post, a manœuvre which he now executed with his accustomed spirit and prudence.

He had determined to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, yet was long prevented by the bad state of the roads and the swelling of all the rivulets, occasioned by the fall of rain; but the state of the weather and roads having at length enabled him to collect the materials and make the preparations for forming bridges for the passage of that river, he moved the troops out of their cantonments on the 8th December, and ordered that the right of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, should pass on the 9th, at and in the neighbourhood of Cambo, while Marshal Sir William Beresford should favour and support his operation, by passing the 6th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, at Ustaritz. Both operations succeeded completely. The enemy were immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne, by the great road of St. Jean Pied de Port. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the 6th division, and one regiment was driven
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from the road, and obliged to march across the country. The enemy assembled in considerable force on a range of heights running parallel with the Adour, and still keeping Ville Franche by their right. The 8th Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Douglas, and the 9th Caçadores, under Colonel Brown, and the British light infantry battalions of the 6th division, carried this village and the heights in the neighbourhood. The rain which had fallen the preceding night and on the morning of the 8th had so destroyed the road, that the day had nearly elapsed before the whole of Sir Rowland Hill's corps had come up, and Lord Wellington was therefore satisfied with the possession of the ground which was occupied.

On the same day, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, with the left of the army under his command, moved forward by the great road from St. Jean de Luz towards Bayonne, and reconnoitred the right of the entrenched camp under Bayonne, and the course of the Adour below the town, after driving in the enemy's posts from the neighbourhood of Biarritz, and Anglet. The light division, under Major-General Alten, likewise moved forward from Bassussary, and then reconnoitred that part of the enemy's entrenchments.

On this occasion the French in this part of their line were very strongly posted, and made some shew of resistance; but it was all in vain, as the works were entirely carried in the course of two hours, with the loss of only 300 men on our part, so that Sir John Hope now established himself at Anglet within a league of Bayonne.

Sir John Hope and Major-General Alten retired in the evening to the ground they had before occupied.

On the morning of the 10th, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill found that the enemy had retired from the position which they had occupied the day before on the heights, into the entrenched camp on that side of the Nive; and he, therefore, occupied the position intended for him, with his right towards the Adour, and his left at Ville Franche, and communicating with the centre of the army, under Marshal Sir William Beresford, by a bridge laid over the Nive; and the troops under the Marshal were again drawn to the left of the Nive.

General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, which had

had remained with Sir Rowland Hill when the other Spanish troops went into cantonments, was placed at Urcuray, with Colonel Vivian's brigade of light dragoons, at Hasparren, in order to observe the movements of the enemy's division under General Paris, which, upon the passage of the Nive, had retired towards St. Palais.

On the 10th Dec. in the morning, the enemy moved out of the entrenched camp with their whole army, with the exception only of what occupied the works opposite to Sir Rowland Hill's position, and drove in the picquets of the light division, and of Sir John Hope's corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the post of the former at the chateau and church of Arcangues, and upon the advanced posts of the latter, on the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz, near the mayor's house of Biaritz. Both attacks were repulsed in the most gallant style by the troops, and Sir John Hope's corps took about 500 prisoners.

Sir John Hope received a severe contusion, which, however, did not deprive Lord Wellington for a moment, of the benefit of his assistance.

After the action was over, the régiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of Colonel Kruse, came over to the posts of Major-General Ross's brigade, of the 4th division, which were formed for the support of the centre.

When the night closed, the enemy were still in large force in front of the allied posts, on the ground from which they had driven the picquets. They retired, however, during the night, from Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope's front, leaving small posts, which were immediately driven in. They still occupied in force the ridge on which the picquets of the light division had stood; and it was obvious, that the whole army was still in front of the allied left; and about three in the afternoon, they again drove in Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope's picquets, and attacked his posts. They were again repulsed with considerable loss.

The attack was recommenced on the morning of the 12th, with the same want of success; the 1st division, under Major-General Howard, having relieved the 5th division; and the enemy discontinued it in the afternoon, and retired entirely within the entrenched camp on that night.

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They never renewed the attack on the posts of the light division after the 10th.

The enemy having thus failed in all attacks with their whole force upon the allied left, withdrew into their entrenchments on the night of the 12th, and passed a large force through Bayonne, with which, on the morning of the 13th, they made a most desperate attack upon Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.

In expectation of this attack, Lord Wellington had requested Marshal Sir William Beresford to reinforce the Lieutenant-General with the 6th division, which crossed the Nive at day-light on that morning; and he further reinforced him by the 4th division, and the two brigades of the 3d division.

The expected arrival of the 6th division gave the Lieutenant-General great facility in making his movements; but the troops under his own immediate command, had defeated and repulsed the enemy with immense loss before their arrival.

The enemy marched a large body of cavalry across the bridge of the Adour on the evening of the 13th, and retired their force opposite to Sir Rowland Hill the next morning toward Bayonne. The loss of the allies, during the whole of these hard days of fighting, was very considerable, amounting in all to about 4 or 5000 men, in killed, wounded, and missing; but the enemy's loss must have been particularly severe, being supposed in the proportion of five or six to one suffered by the allies.

Lord Wellington being now master of a considerable portion of the French territory, issued a proclamation, importing that the constituted authorities should remain in the towns and villages occupied by the allies, continuing their municipal functions, until a new order of things should take place.

He also directed that in case the persons who exercised these functions previously, should have retired along with the French army, or should desire to quit their employment, then the respective towns and villages should make known the circumstances to him as Commander-in-Chief, when he engaged that he would take the necessary measures for the welfare of the people, and the preservation of order and security: at the same time he very prudently

desired all the persons exercising those functions under the British standard, and also those who might be hereafter nominated to fill them, to recollect that it would not be permitted them to have any kind of communication whatever with the French army, nor with any authority of the French government.

Another proclamation also was issued about this time by the Marquis of Wellington, regulating the duties to be paid upon the value of various articles imported into the places south of the Adour. This singular occurrence forms a striking contrast to the impotent and powerless edicts of the Emperor Napoleon, who had vainly attempted by his Berlin and Milan decrees to annihilate the whole British commerce. It also exhibits the singular fact of a British general, by his own authority, ordering duties to be levied in a country, at all times jealous of foreign interference in its internal concerns.

In this proclamation, dated the 18th of December 1813, his Lordship remarked, that, having taken into consideration the necessity of fixing the basis upon which trade was to be carried on in the ports of French Navarre lying to the south of the Adour, he therefore made it known that these ports should be considered free and open to individuals of all nations, with the exception of those that might be at war with any of the allied powers, and also open to produce of every kind.

At the same time, he ordered, that a duty of five per cent *ad valorem* should be levied on all goods imported by them into those ports: but this duty was merely nominal, and evidently mentioned only for the purpose of marking the event more strongly; as an exemption from the tax was published in favour of the following articles, such as wheat, Indian corn, flour, barley, oats, bran, biscuit, bread, beans, pease, and salt, and in short all goods or provisions imported by sea for the use of the allied armies.

Lord Wellington, at the same time, directed that the respective municipalities should be charged with the organization of the establishments requisite for the collecting of the duties; and they were desired to submit, to his revisal and approval, such regulations for the execution of the service with which they were charged as might appear necessary and beneficial.

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He further ordered them to make returns every Monday morning, of the quantity and value of the goods imported during the preceding week, and of the amount of the duties collected, on which occasions he promised to give directions for the applications of such sums as might thus be levied.

The affairs of France, and the fortunes of Napoleon, were now hastening to a crisis. Pressed on all sides by zealous and powerful armies, inflamed by repeated and long continued oppressions, nothing short of entire submission, and the downfall of the tyrant, could satisfy or appease the fixed and determined purposes of the allies. Whilst Lord Wellington was pressing on them in the south, the Austrians under Prince Schwartzemberg were advancing in the east, through Switzerland. Powerful armies were also on the Rhine, ready at the first signal to cross that river, and to penetrate into the interior of France. This, therefore, was the time for action; and the illustrious Wellington was not backward in promptly availing himself of the favourable opportunity for striking the decisive blow, and taking his share in changing the destinies of France. Lord Wellington therefore determined to put his army in motion, and advance as soon as possible on the road to Bourdeaux, leaving 15,000 men, principally Spaniards, to invest Bayonne.

His head-quarters, during the latter end of December, were at St. Jean de Luz, where he was attentively watching the motions of Soult, who, during the last days of December and the first days of January, had been collecting a considerable force on the banks of the Gave. Imagining that matters were ripe for execution, Marshal Soult advanced on the 3d, and drove in the allied cavalry picquets between the Joyeuse and Bidouze rivers, after which he attacked the post of Major-General Buchan's Portuguese brigade on the Joyeuse, near La Bastide, as well as those of the 3d division of the army on the Bidouze, in Boulœ. Having advanced in considerable force, Soult was at first enabled to turn the right of General Buchan's brigade on the height of La Costa, and even obliged that officer to retire towards Briscons; after which the French army established two divisions of infantry on that height, and on La Bastide, whilst the remainder of his force was concentrated on the Bidouze and the Gave.

There, however, Lord Wellington did not choose that he should long remain, but immediately concentrated the right and centre of the allied army, which were instantly prepared to move.

Previous to an attack of the enemy, the gallant Field-Marshal made a reconnoissance on the 4th, and would have commenced his operations on the following day, had he not been obliged to defer it until the 6th, owing to the badness of the weather, and the swelling of the rivulets, after an incessant rain. On the 6th, however, the allied army was in motion, and the proposed attack was made by the 3d and 4th divisions, under the command of Sir Thomas Picton and Sir Lowry Cole, who were supported by Major-General Buchan's Portuguese brigade of General Le Cor's division, and the cavalry under the command of Major-General Fane.

No sooner did the attack commence, than the enemy were instantly completely dislodged, without any loss on the side of the allies, and the advanced posts were again established where they had formerly been, Soult not choosing to risk a general action.

At the latter end of January, the Duke d'Angoulême arrived at the head-quarters of Lord Wellington's army; where he was received with every honour; but his Royal Highness, for the moment, chose to be considered only as a private gentleman. This was certainly prudent at the present moment, as it occasioned no absolute loss of time or opportunity, but enabled Lord Wellington and the Royal Duke to ascertain with more precision the feelings of the people, amongst whom a knowledge of the real state of affairs in France was every day spreading. In fact, the advance of the eastern allies was now so rapid as to render any movements on the part of Lord Wellington almost unnecessary; for, as early as the 6th of February, Marshal Blücher had got possession of Chalons and Vitri; General Kleist was also at St. Dizier; and on the 7th the important position and town of Troyes was taken possession of by the allies, the enemy retiring from it on the preceding evening, and taking a direction towards Nogent; and the number of roads leading from the different points of France, and uniting at Troyes, as well as the resources of the place itself, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants, rendered its

its occupation of the greatest utility to the allied cause.

In consequence of these events, the time was considered sufficiently ripe to declare openly for the House of Bourbon. Accordingly his Lordship immediately took measures for the distribution of a proclamation, in the name of Louis the Eighteenth, to the French people. The proclamation was to the following effect:—

“ Frenchmen! the day of your deliverance approaches. The nephew of your King, the husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. has arrived among you. It is near the cradle of Henry IV. that one of his lineal descendants has just unfurled, amidst the gallant French, the ancient banner of the lilies; and announces to you the return of happiness and peace, under a Sovereign, the protector of the laws and of public liberty!

“ No more tyrants! no more war! no more conscriptions! no more vexatious imposts!

“ May your calamities, at the voice of your Sovereign, of your Father, be effaced by hope, your errors by oblivion, your dissensions by that affecting union of which he will be the pledge.

“ The promises which he had made to you, and which he solemnly renews to you this day, he is ardently desirous to fulfil, and to signalize, by his love and by his deeds of beneficence, the fortunate moment which, in giving him back his subjects, restores him to his children.
—*Vive le Roi.*

“ By his Highness Monsieur the Duc D'Angouleme.

“ Count Etienne de Damas.”

“ *St. Jean de Luz, Feb. 10.*”

Besides this proclamation to the people, his Royal Highness was directed to repair immediately to the province of Bearn, as the royal representative, both in that and in the neighbouring provinces; for which purpose his instructions proceeded to specify the powers which his Majesty's nephew was there to exercise until the arrival of the legitimate sovereign.

The Duke was therefore directed to employ himself in the re-establishment of the authority of the Bourbons, and also of good order in such provinces as he might be able to penetrate into, or open a correspondence with:

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he was also empowered to levy troops, and to receive the oaths of those who, having abandoned the colours of the usurper, should embrace the cause of their lawful sovereign. He was also authorized to take the command of all the military, and to appoint general officers to command under him, as well as subordinate officers in their various ranks.

The Duke's commission even extended to the taking from the public chests the sums necessary for the execution of his orders; acting, however, in that respect, and in every other circumstance, in a manner the most conformable to the paternal sentiments with which Louis expressed himself as being animated towards his subjects, and which he described his nephew as feeling in the same manner with himself.

Other necessary measures were directed, consequent upon these orders; and the present orders were to cease to have effect as soon as Monsieur, his Majesty's brother, should arrive in France, or, at furthest, upon the arrival of the King himself.

In order to give effect to these measures, Lord Wellington determined to put the army in motion. Accordingly, on the 13th of February we find the right wing moving upon St. Palais, and from thence towards the Gave d'Oleron, on which river some British troops were established on the 18th. On the 14th of February, Lord Wellington gave orders for the further movement of the right, under Sir Rowland Hill, who drove in the enemy's picquets on the Joyeuse river, and immediately attacked their post at Hellette, from which he obliged General Harispe to retire, with considerable loss, towards St. Martin. On the same day, he gave directions for the detachment of General Mina's corps, then in the valley of Bastan, to advance upon Baygorey and Bidarray; and the direct communication of Soult with St. Jean Pied de Port having already been cut off by Sir Rowland Hill, this Spanish corps was now ordered to commence the blockade of that fortress.

On the following morning, the 15th of February, the troops under Sir Rowland Hill continued their pursuit of the flying enemy, who had then retired on a strong position in the front of Garris, where General Harispe was joined by General Paris's division (which had been recalled

recalled from the march it had commenced for the interior of France) as well as by other troops from Soult's centre.

General Murillo's Spanish division, after driving in the enemy's advanced posts, was now ordered to move towards St. Palais, by a ridge parallel to that on which was the enemy's position, in order to turn their left flank, and cut off their retreat by that road, whilst the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, should attack them in front. In pursuance of this plan, Sir William Stewart made a most gallant attack upon Harispe's and Paris's position, which was remarkably strong, but which his brave companions soon carried, and that too without any very considerable loss. Much of the day had elapsed before the attack could be commenced, and the action lasted till after dark, the enemy having made repeated attempts to regain the position, particularly in two attacks, which were most gallantly received and repulsed by the 39th regiment, under the command of the Honourable Colonel O'Callaghan, in Major-General Pringle's brigade. The Major-General and Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce were unfortunately wounded; but ten officers, and about two hundred men, were taken from the enemy.

Whilst these operations were going on with the right of the allied army, the right of the centre made a corresponding movement in advance; so that, on the evening of the 15th, the outposts were on the banks of the Bidouze river.

The French then retired across the river at St. Palais in the night, destroying the bridges; which however were soon repaired, so that the troops under Sir Rowland Hill were enabled to cross on the 16th, and on the 17th he drove the retreating divisions across the Gave de Mouleou.

General Harispe endeavoured to destroy the bridge at Arriverete; but the pursuit of the British was so rapid that he had not time to complete its destruction: and a ford having also been discovered above the bridge, the 92d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, supported by the fire of Captain Beane's troop of horse-artillery, crossed the ford, and made a most gallant attack upon two battalions of French

French infantry posted in the village, from which the latter were driven with considerable loss.

The enemy now retired in the night across the Gave d'Oleron, and took up a strong position in the vicinity of Sauveterre, in which they were joined by other troops. But though it was not judged proper to pursue them to that post, yet the allied posts were fully established on the Gave d'Oleron on the 18th.

In all these various operations, Lord Wellington, who was himself an eye-witness of the whole, declared, that the allied troops conducted themselves remarkably well; in particular, he expressed the great satisfaction which he felt in observing the good conduct of the Spaniards under General Murillo, in the attack upon Hellette on the 14th, and in driving in the enemy's advanced posts in front of their position at Garris on the 15th.

In consequence of the result of those forward movements of the allies from the 14th, Soult was obliged considerably to weaken the garrison of Bayonne, and he also withdrew his posts from the right of the Adour, above the town.

Lord Wellington, in his dispatches, further stated, that he had received a report from the Governor of Pampluna, informing him that the fort of Jaca had surrendered to the Spanish army under General Mina, on the 17th of February. The details he had not been informed of; but the capture was of importance, as the place contained eighty-four pieces of brass cannon.

It appears, by all accounts from the army at this period, that the resistance made by Soult's troops was feeble in the extreme; nothing like a general engagement was courted by the French. Indeed, it must excite the greatest compassion in the breasts of our readers, to learn, that the greatest part of the prisoners taken were under sixteen years of age,

All the accounts, too, agreed in stating, that every thing indicated preparations for more active warfare, as the movements of the right were only considered as precursors of a more general advance; particularly as the ever active Wellington, after conducting those movements, was on the 20th of the month along with the left of his army, preparing them to march forward in pursuit of fresh glory.

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The necessary preparations being therefore made for passing the Adour, Lord Wellington returned to Garris on the 21st, and ordered the sixth and light divisions to break up from the blockade of Bayonne, directing General Don Manuel Freyre at the same time to close up the cantonments of his troops towards Irun, and to be prepared to move when the left of the army should cross the Adour. The pontoons had already been collected at Garris, and they were moved forward on the 23d and 24th to and across the Gave de Moulcon, at which time the centre of the allied army also came up in advance.

On the 24th, Sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave with the light, second, and Portuguese divisions; whilst Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton passed with the sixth division between Montfort and Laas; and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton made demonstrations with the 3d division of an intention to attack the enemy's position at the bridge of Sauveterre, which induced the French to blow up the bridge. Marischal de Campo don Pablo Murillo drove in the enemy's post near Naverrens, and blockaded that place; whilst Marshal Beresford attacked the enemy on the 23d, on the fortified posts at Hastings and Oyergave on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire within the *tête de pont* at Peyrehourade.

Immediately after the passage of the Gave d'Oleron was effected, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton moved towards Orthes, and the great road leading from Sauveterre to that town; and the enemy retired in the night from Sauveterre across the Gave de Pau, and assembled their army near Orthes on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river.

The right and right of the centre of the allied army assembled opposite Orthes; Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry, and the third division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, was near the destroyed bridge of Bereus; and Field-Marshal Sir W. Beresford, with the fourth and seventh divisions, under Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Walker, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, towards the junction of the Gave de Pau with the Gave d'Oleron.

The troops opposed to the Marshal having retired on

the 25th, he crossed the Gave de Pau below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron, on the morning of the 26th, and moved along the high road from Peyrehourade towards Orthes, on the enemy's right. As he approached, Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton crossed with the cavalry, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton with the third division, below the bridge of Bereus; and Lord Wellington moved the sixth and light divisions to the same point; and Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill occupied the heights opposite Orthes, and the high road leading to Sauveterre.

The sixth and light divisions crossed on the morning of the 27th at day-light, and found the enemy in a strong position near Orthes, with his right on the heights on the high road to Dax, and occupying the village of St. Boes, and his left the heights above Orthes and that town, and opposing the passage of the river by Sir R. Hill.

Another laurel was now to entwine the brow of the gallant Wellington, and the battle of Orthes, fought on the 27th, was to consummate that fame so nobly earned by his military achievements.

The course of the heights on which the enemy had placed his army on the 27th, necessarily retired his centre, while the strength of the position gave extraordinary advantages to the flanks. Lord Wellington, therefore, ordered Marshal Beresford to turn and attack the enemy's right with the fourth division under Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, and the 7th division under Major-General Walker and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry: while Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton should move along the great road leading from Peyrehourade to Orthes, and attack the heights on which the enemy's centre and left stood, with the third and sixth divisions, supported by Sir Stapleton Cotton with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-General Charles Baron Alten, with the light division, was ordered to keep himself in reserve between the two attacks, so as to succour either should it be necessary. Sir Rowland Hill, in furtherance of the general dispositions of the day, was ordered to cross the Gave, and to turn the enemy's left, by which means the whole British right and centre would be brought into action; whilst the left under Sir John Hope, in conjunction with the naval force,

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was operating below Bayonne, in order to get possession of both banks of the river. Such were the general dispositions made by the gallant Wellington. The battle now commenced, and soon became general; Marshal Sir William Beresford carried the village of St. Boes, with the fourth division under the command of Sir Lowry Cole, after a most obstinate resistance; but the ground was found so narrow that the troops could not defile to attack the heights, notwithstanding repeated attempts for that purpose. Finding it therefore impossible to succeed in this quarter, Lord Wellington so far altered the plan of the action as to order the immediate advance of the third and sixth divisions, and moved forward Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood. This attack, led by the 52d regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, was supported on their right by Major-General Brisbane's and Colonel Kean's brigades of the third division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by Major-General Anson's brigade of the fourth division, and on the right by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton with the remainder of the third division, and the sixth division under Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton. The enemy, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack, were completely dislodged from the heights, and victory in this quarter crowned the glorious efforts of the allies.

Whilst affairs were going on prosperously in this quarter, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes; and, seeing the state of the action, he moved immediately with the second division of infantry under Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, and Major-General Fane's brigade of cavalry, direct for the great road from Orthes to St. Sever, thus keeping upon the enemy's left, and checking his movements in that quarter. The enemy at first retired in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained in the continued attacks of the allies, and the danger with which they were threatened by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's movements, soon accelerated their movements; the retreat at length became a flight, and their troops were in the utmost confusion.

Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered to charge with Major-General Lord Edward Somerset's brigade in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles, where the enemy had been driven from the high road by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.

The pursuit of the enemy continued until dusk ; and Lord Wellington halted his army for the night in the vicinity of Sault de Navailles, intending to follow them up the next day.

Whilst these affairs were going on under the immediate command of Lord Wellington, in which the right and centre of the allied army were engaged, the left, under Sir John Hope, in conjunction with a British naval force at the mouth of the Adour, under Rear-Admiral Penrose, crossed the Adour below Bayonne, on the 23d of February, and took possession of both banks of that river, at its confluence with the ocean. This operation was of the most difficult nature, and nothing but the most cordial support and assistance from the navy could have accomplished it. This was most handsomely acknowledged by Lord Wellington himself.

On the 25th, Sir John Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne; and Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, with the 4th Spanish army, moved forward in consequence of orders from Lord Wellington, under the confident impression that the success of the navy and troops on the left would justify an order to advance.

During the whole of the 26th, the British on the left were occupied in completing their bridge of boats, which being at length finished for service by the exertions of the navy, Sir John Hope deemed it expedient on the 27th, whilst Lord Wellington was engaged on the right, to invest the citadel of Bayonne more closely than he had done before; and accordingly the village of St. Eleanor was attacked and carried, a gun and some prisoners being then taken from the enemy. In consequence of this success, the posts were advanced to within 900 yards of the outworks of that place.

We now return to Lord Wellington, whom we left in the pursuit of the discomfited enemy, and preparing, on the morning of the 28th, to follow up his advantages. The loss of the enemy, up to the evening of the 27th, could
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not be exactly estimated; and they had so rapidly retreated, or rather fled, that only six pieces of cannon were taken. The number of prisoners was, however, very great, and the subsequent desertion immense. The whole country was covered with their dead. Their army was in the utmost confusion when it passed the heights near Sault de Navailles, and many soldiers had thrown away their arms.

The result of all these operations was, that Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, and Navarrens, were invested; whilst the allied army, in consequence of their having passed the Adour, were in possession of all the great communications across that river, after having beaten the enemy and taken their magazines.

As this is almost the last military action we shall have to record in which our illustrious subject was engaged, we cannot pass over the testimonies he bestows upon the able assistance he received during the whole of these operations. He observes in his dispatches—

“ Your Lordship will have observed with satisfaction the able assistance which I have received in these operations from Marshal Sir William Beresford, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, Sir John Hope, and Sir Stapleton Cotton, and from all the general officers, officers, and troops acting under their orders respectively.

“ It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my sense of their merits, or of the degree in which the country is indebted to their zeal and ability, for the situation in which the army now finds itself.

“ All the troops, Portuguese as well as British, distinguished themselves: the 4th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, on the attack of St. Boes, and the subsequent endeavours to carry the right of the heights. The 3d, 6th, and light divisions, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, Sir H. Clinton, Major-General Charles Baron Alten, in the attack of the enemy's position on the heights; and these, and the 7th division under Major-General Walker, in the various operations and attacks during the enemy's retreat.

The charge made by the 7th Hussars, under Lord Edward Somerset, was highly meritorious.

“ The conduct of the artillery throughout the day deserved my entire approbation. I am likewise much indebted

indebted to Quarter-Master General Sir George Murray, and the Adjutant-General Sir Edward Pakenham, for the assistance I have received from them, and to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and the officers of my personal staff, and to the Marischal de Campo Don Miguel Alava."

During all those important operations, the loss in killed and wounded of the allied army, was comparatively trifling; and although the effusion of blood is always to be lamented, yet the great results of the battle of Orthes might well repay the loss on this occasion. Immediately after the great and decisive battle of Orthes, Lord Wellington, on the morning of the 28th of February, put his army in motion in pursuit of the enemy, when he followed them up to St. Sever, his head-quarters being at that place on the 1st of March. Every preparation was immediately made for crossing the Upper Adour: which event took place on the morning of the 1st, by a part of the army crossing the river; but the rain which fell in the afternoon of that day swelled the Adour and all the rivulets falling into it so considerably, as materially to impede the further progress of the allied army. Lord Wellington, therefore, halted there on the 2d, till the bridges could be repaired, all of which the enemy had destroyed.

In the mean time, however, the troops under Sir Rowland Hill, having crossed that river in pursuance of his instructions, advanced to Ayre, where the enemy had collected a strong corps, with the intention, as was supposed, of protecting the evacuation of a considerable magazine which they had at that place.

Upon the arrival of the advanced guard under Sir Rowland Hill, the enemy was discovered occupying a strong ridge of hills, having his right flank upon the Adour, and covering the road to the place.

Sir Rowland Hill, notwithstanding the strength of his position, ordered the attack; which was executed by the second division under Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir W. Stewart (which advanced on the road leading to the place, and thus gained possession of the enemy's extreme right), and by one brigade of the Portuguese division under Brigadier-General La Costa, which ascended the heights occupied by the enemy at about the centre of his position.

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The Portuguese brigade succeeded in gaining possession of the ridge, but were thrown into such confusion by the resistance made by the enemy, as would have been of the most serious consequence, had it not been for the timely support given by the second division, under Lieutenant-General Sir W. Stewart; who, having previously beaten back the enemy directly opposed to him, and seeing them returning to charge the Portuguese brigade, ordered forward the first brigade of the second division, which, led by Major-General Barnes, charged the enemy in the most gallant style, and beat them back, throwing their column into the greatest confusion. The enemy made various attempts to regain the ground; but Lieutenant-General the Honourable William Stewart, having now been joined by Major-General Byng's brigade, was enabled to drive them from all their positions, and finally from the town itself.

By all accounts of prisoners, and from Sir Rowland Hill's own observations, at least two divisions of the enemy were engaged. Their loss in killed and wounded was very great, and above 100 prisoners were taken. The entire destruction of the corps was only prevented by their rapid flight. Their line of retreat was by the right bank of the Adour, with the exception of some part of their force, which, being cut off from the river by the rapid advance of the English, retired in the greatest confusion to Pau, leaving their arms in every direction.

Notwithstanding this temporary advance of Sir Rowland Hill, yet the excessive bad weather and violent fall of rain still checked the march of the whole army, so that the rivers were now all swelled to such an extraordinary degree as to render it both tedious and difficult to repair the numerous bridges, which Soult had destroyed in his retreat: and thus, the different parts of the army being without communication with each other, Lord Wellington found himself, most unwillingly, compelled to halt.

After the affair with General Hill, the enemy retired on the 2d, by both banks of the Adour, towards Tarbes, with a view probably of being joined by the detachments from Marshal Suchet's army, which had left Catalonia in February. Lord Wellington, therefore, sent,
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on the 7th of March, a detachment under Major-General Fane to take possession of Pau; and, on the 8th, Marshal Sir William Beresford had orders to take possession of Bourdeaux, at which place he arrived on the 12th, the small force which was there having the preceding evening retired across the Garonne.

The occupation of Bourdeaux is too important an event to be passed over slightly here. It forms a memorable æra in the life of the illustrious Wellington, and is one of the grand results of his amazing successes.

It was on the 12th of March that Marshal Beresford entered the city of Bourdeaux, having been met at a short distance by the civil authorities and the populace, and received in the city with every demonstration of joy. The Magistrates and City Guards took off the eagles and other badges, spontaneously substituting the white cockade, which had been adopted universally by the people of Bourdeaux. The Duke D'Angouleme, who had gone towards Pau, had been sent for express to the place.

This was a most glorious epoch to the city of Bourdeaux. Its inhabitants were the first to declare for the House of Bourbon. For this they were beholden to the immortal Wellington, who had thus given them the opportunity of throwing off the hateful yoke of Buonaparte. For a long time previous to this period they had sighed for an opportunity of declaring their attachment to the royal family of France; and some zealous citizens had laboured in secret for the re-establishment of the paternal government of the descendants of Henry the Fourth. M. Lynch, a former magistrate in the parliament of Bourdeaux, concerted with M. Tassard de St. Germain, commissioner of Louis the Eighteenth, to profit by the first moment the English army arrived in the French territory. The Bordelais were then informed that his Royal Highness the Duke of Angouleme had arrived at the army, and entered St. Jean de Luz. The royal council decreed that M. de Laroche Jacquelin and M. Queyriaux should repair to his Royal Highness to receive his orders, and to confer with Lord Wellington. His Lordship promised all necessary succours to support the royalists. M. George Bontemps de Berri was sent to entreat his Royal Highness to proceed to Bourdeaux.

Lord



Duke of Angoulême.

Lord Wellington caused a column to march immediately upon Bourdeaux, which he entrusted to the command of Marshal Beresford.

When the King's Commissioner and M. Lynch were certain of the arrival of the allies, every thing was prepared to receive them in a signal manner. Estafettes were sent to the Marshal, and deputies set off to communicate the wishes of the Bordelais to his Royal Highness. Thus were the Gascons the first to lay at the feet of the Prince the homage of fidelity and respect.

As soon as the Marshal had arrived at Pont de la Maye, Colonel Vivian was sent to the Mayor, to announce to him that the Marshal considered himself as entering an allied city, obedient to his Majesty Louis the Eighteenth. He immediately received this assurance, and M. Lynch and the assistants, escorted by a royal guard without uniform, went out to meet the Marshal. The white cockade was immediately displayed, the white standard waved upon the tower of St. Michael; and the Mayor addressed a speech to the Marshal, expressive of the wishes of the Bordelais. Cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" repeated and re-echoed, often interrupted the Mayor. The Marshal repeated the promise made by Lord Wellington.

The procession then began to the Hotel de Ville: the people preceded their deliverers in crowds. Cries of "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" "*Honour the English!*" "*Long live the Mayor!*" succeeded each other without ceasing. The Marshal, upon his arrival at the Hotel de Ville, received the assistants to the Mayor and the King's Commissioner, decorated with the royal scarf, who were presented by the Mayor; and the general gave fresh assurances of protection.

The acclamations of the people, however, demanded the Prince: every one wished to see the nephew of the King; every one desired to express his affection for him. At that very moment, M. the Duke de Guiche arrived to announce that his Royal Highness would be at Bourdeaux before three o'clock, and that he would repair in the first place to the Cathedral. This news was soon repeated by a thousand voices; fresh cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were heard on all sides and throughout the city. The joy was general. Numerous detach-

ments of young royalists set off to meet his Royal Highness; and the Mayor proceeded in his carriage, with the King's Commissioner. The assistants and a part of the municipal council accompanied them. The crowd was immense. As soon as they came within sight of his Royal Highness, the Mayor and his companions alighted; M. Lynch harangued his Royal Highness, and received a suitable reply—"Oblivion of the past; happiness for the future." His Royal Highness then proceeded to the cathedral; but the crowd filled every street, for all were desirous of seeing the Prince. The archbishop waited for his Royal Highness at the grand gate of the cathedral: the cathedral was filled with people; and it was not till near an hour that the Prince could get to the sanctuary. The sacredness of the place could not check the acclamations; cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" stopped the ceremony. *Te Deum* was sung and repeated by all hearts. His Royal Highness, wishing to prove to the Bordelais how much he was touched by these expressions, repaired to the Hotel de Ville, to charge the magistrates to declare his deepest satisfaction. Cries of "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" and "*Vive le Roi!*" preceded and followed him every where.

At mid-day, on the 12th of March, the Mayor of Bourdeaux addressed the following speech to Marshal Beresford:—

"General—The generous nation which has given such signal proofs of its magnanimity, in assisting with unshaken constancy its oppressed allies, presents itself this day at the gates of the city of Bourdeaux, as the ally of our august Sovereign Louis XVIII.

"We approach you, General, for the purpose of expressing, in the name of our fellow-citizens, the sentiments by which they are animated.

"You are about to witness the testimonies, which will burst forth in every quarter, of our love for our King. These testimonies will also be mixed with feelings of gratitude.

"May no obstacle henceforth present itself to the union of our countries. May your vessels freely enter our ports, and our's be received in your's as friends. Thus shall we mutually enjoy the benefits of commercial intercourse. The alliance of England and France secures the peace and happiness of the world."

At

At two o'clock, the Mayor also addressed his Royal Highness the Duc d'Angouleme as follows:—

“ Monseigneur—What a day for the city of Bourdeaux is that on which it receives within its bosom the nephew and son-in-law of Louis XVI. and of our well-beloved king, Louis XVIII. France, then, is about to recover her happiness! She could only enjoy it under the paternal government of a descendant of Henry IV. of the sovereign whose distinguished wisdom was equally proved in prosperity as in adversity.

“ What happier presage could we have, Monseigneur, of our future felicity, than the presence of a prince so renowned for his affability, prudence, and firmness?

“ Come, Monseigneur, amongst the faithful subjects of our King, to give them an example of all the virtues; come to receive the most marked testimonies of our love, our devotedness, and profound respect.”

The Archbishop of Bourdeaux likewise delivered the following speech to the Duc d'Angouleme:—

“ Sir—Afflicted for a long series of years with calamities of all kinds, we have mourned over our misery; and while our prayers were raised for a period to them, we were incessantly agitated by hopes and fears, which alternately prevailed.

“ These painful emotions are at length hushed to peace by the presence of your Royal Highness. We shall be happy! In the name of the clergy, and the people of my diocese, I presume to intreat your Royal Highness to convey to his Majesty the unfeigned assurance, that in his dominions he will not find subjects more faithful or more devoted.”

From these proceedings at Bourdeaux, we now turn to the operations of Lord Wellington's army, whose labours were now drawing to a glorious termination. It appears, that the enemy had collected his forces at Couches; Lord Wellington, therefore, concentrated his army in the neighbourhood of Aire. The various detachments which he had sent out, and the reserves of cavalry and artillery moving out of Spain, did not join him until the 17th of March. In the mean time, the enemy, not finding his situation at Couches very secure, retired on the 15th to Lembege, keeping his advanced posts towards Couches. The enemy marched on the 18th, and Sir Rowland Hill

drove in his outposts upon Lembege; he then retired in the night upon Vic Bigorre, and on the following day (the 19th) held a strong rear-guard in the vineyards in front of the town. This rear-guard was immediately attacked in a most gallant style, by Sir Thomas Picton, with the 3d division and General Rock's brigade, who drove them through the vineyards and town. The allied army then assembled at Vic Bigorre and Rabestans. In the night the enemy retired upon Torbes; and on the morning of the 20th the advanced posts of their left were in the town, and their right upon the heights, near the windmill of Oleac; their centre and left were retired, the latter being upon the heights near Augos. The allied army marched in two columns from Vic Bigorre and Rabestans; and Lord Wellington ordered Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton to turn and attack the right with the 6th division through the valley of Dous, whilst Sir Rowland Hill attacked the town by the high road from Vic Bigorre.

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton's movement was very ably made, and was completely successful: the light division, under Major-General C. Baron Alten, likewise drove the enemy from the heights above Orleix; and Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill having moved through the town, and disposed his columns for the attack, the enemy retired in all directions, with very considerable loss.

The allied army encamped in the evening upon the Larzet and Larros; Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton with the 6th division, and Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton with Major-General Ponsonby's and Lord Edward Somerset's brigades of cavalry, being well advanced upon the right of the enemy.

The events which were now taking place in other parts of France, were of the most stupendous nature, and have already been noticed in this work. The allies were advancing on Paris in all directions; and the glorious revolution, which had taken place, and which had hurled Napoleon from his giddy station, was the signal for the cessation of hostilities in all parts of the world. These events, however, by the malignant contrivance of individuals, who had intercepted the couriers, were unknown to the respective commanders of the allied and French armies in the south of France; and an useless effusion of
blood,

blood, which might well have been spared, was the consequence of the fatal ignorance in which these celebrated generals were held in regard to the passing events in the French metropolis.

Marshal Soult, after the affairs we have just noticed, retreated in great haste to Toulouse, closely followed by the allied army. The French, although reinforced by the Cataionian army under Marshal Suchet, did not much exceed 30,000 men, a force totally inadequate to withstand the victorious Wellington.

The continued fall of rain which had impeded the advance of the allies, had given time to Marshal Soult to prepare for the defence of Toulouse, and he had with extraordinary diligence availed himself of the opportunity. The situation of Toulouse is strong. Surrounded on three sides by the Garonne and the celebrated canal of Languedoc, and possessing an ancient wall, the French engineers found it easy to construct *têtes-de-pont*, commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and to support them by musquetry and artillery from the wall. They had, besides, fortified a commanding height to the eastward with five redoubts; but as the roads from the Arriege to Toulouse had become impracticable for cavalry or artillery, and nearly so for infantry, no alternative remained but to attack them in this formidable position. It was not until the 8th of April that it became possible to move any part of the allied army across the Garonne. On that day, the Spanish corps of Don Manuel Freyre crossed the right of the river, together with some British Hussars, who drove a superior body of the enemy's cavalry from a village on the small river Ers, which falls into the Garonne some distance below the town. Between this river and the canal of Languedoc, were the fortified heights, which constituted the chief strength of the enemy's position. It was therefore resolved, that while these heights should be stormed in front by Don Manuel Freyre, Marshal Beresford should march up the Ers, and turn the enemy's right, and Sir Thomas Picton should threaten the *tête-de-pont* on the canal to the left. These operations on the right of the Garonne were also to be supported by a simultaneous attack of Sir Rowland Hill's on the *tête-de-pont*, formed by the suburb on the left of that river. The 9th elapsed in preparations for these
several

several attacks; but on the 10th the whole plan was carried into full effect, Marshal Beresford, with the 4th and 6th divisions, carried the height of Monblanc, and forced his way to the point at which he turned the enemy's right. The Spanish corps of Don Manuel Freyre, at the same time, moved gallantly forward to the attack in front; but the French troops were here so strongly posted, that they not only repulsed, but pursued the assailants to some distance. The Spaniards, however, both in the attack and retreat, conducted themselves with the utmost steadiness; and the light division being moved up by Sir Thomas Picton to their support, they were soon reformed by the exertions of their generals, and brought back to the attack. Meanwhile Marshal Beresford had succeeded in carrying the redoubt which covered the enemy's extreme right, and had established himself on the heights on which the other four redoubts were placed. A short interval of time now succeeded, during which the Spaniards were reformed, and Marshal Beresford's artillery, which had been left behind at Monblanc, was brought up. As soon as this was effected, the Marshal continued his movement along the heights, and stormed the two next redoubts (those which covered the enemy's centre); the enemy, after having been driven from them, in vain making a desperate effort to regain them. There now remained only the two redoubts on the enemy's left, and these were soon carried by the British troops advancing along the ridge, whilst the Spaniards at the same time attacked in front. These were the principal operations. Sir Thomas Picton, however, with the 3d division, drove the enemy's left within the *tête-de-pont* on the canal; and Sir Rowland Hill in like manner forced the exterior works of the suburb on the left of the Garonne; so that, at the close of the day, the French troops were closely hemmed in, the allies being established on three sides of Toulouse, and the road of Carcassone being the only practicable one which was left open. By this road Marshal Soult drew off the remainder of his troops in the night of the 11th; and Lord Wellington triumphantly entered Toulouse the following morning.

The loss of the enemy in killed, on this melancholy occasion, is not exactly known. General D'Harispe, General Burrot, and General St. Hilaire, were taken prisoners,

soners, as also 1600 men. One piece of cannon was taken on the field of battle and others, with large quantities of stores of all descriptions in the town. The loss of the allies (dreadful to relate!) amounted to 595 killed, and 4046 wounded.

Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie crossed the Garonne nearly about the time that Admiral Penrose entered the river, and pushed the enemy's parties, under General L'Huillier beyond the Dordogne. He then crossed the Dordogne on the 4th, near St. Andre de Cubzac, with a detachment of the troops under his command, with a view to the attack of the fort of Bloye. His Lordship found General L'Huillier and General des Barreaux posted near Etauliers, and made his disposition to attack them, when they retired, leaving about three hundred prisoners in his hands.

This was the last military achievement of the great Wellington. On the evening of the day on which he entered Toulouse, Colonel Cook brought him dispatches, acquainting him with the events which had taken place at Paris: Colonel St. Cimon also brought the same information to Marshal Soult. But the latter did not consider the information to be so authentic as to induce him to send his submission to the provisional government of France: he, however, proposed a suspension of hostilities, to afford him time to ascertain what had occurred. This Lord Wellington refused: but on the 17th, having received Marshal Soult's adhesion to the new government, he agreed to a suspension of hostilities between the allied armies, and the French armies under the command of Marshals Soult and Suchet.

Before we close this part of our biography, it remains for us to notice the unfortunate affair at Bayonne. It appears that General Hope, who commanded at the siege, having heard of the change of affairs at Paris, sent information to the Governor of Bayonne, and requested a suspension of hostilities, till further intelligence and fresh instructions should be received. The governor, it appears, sent back a verbal message, intimating that a formal answer would be given in the morning. The besiegers, no doubt relaxing from their vigilance, were not prepared to expect an attack. The enemy, however, made a sortie on the morning of the 14th of April, on the

the left and centre of the allied posts at St. Etienne. Major-General Hay commanded the outposts, and was killed shortly after the attack commenced, having just given directions that the church of St. Etienne should be defended to the last. The enemy succeeded in gaining possession of the village, from which, however, he was soon driven. In the centre, after compelling the allied picquets to retire, the enemy was obliged to fall back in turn, and the posts were finally re-occupied. Major-General Stopford was here wounded. It was towards the right that Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope was taken. In endeavouring to bring up some troops to the support of the picquets, he came unexpectedly in the dark on a party of the enemy; his horse was shot dead and fell upon him, and not being able to disengage himself from under it, he was unfortunately made prisoner. He was wounded in two places, but in neither dangerously.

A considerable part of the above operations took place before day-light, which gave the enemy a great advantage from their numbers; but whatever end they might promise to themselves, it was completely frustrated.

“In Major-General Hay,” says General Howard, “his Majesty’s service has lost a most zealous and able officer, who has served a considerable time in this army with great distinction.” The loss of the enemy must, however, have been severe, as he left many dead behind him, and he was afterwards observed burying a considerable number of men.

It has been confidently stated, and generally believed, that the commandant at Bayonne looked upon the message of Sir John Hope as a *ruse de guerre*, and that he therefore adopted the method he pursued to counteract the plans of the British commander; but, as soon as he was fully persuaded of Buonaparte’s dethronement, he endeavoured to excuse his want of credence, and was sorry for the effusion of blood.

The war being now terminated, Lord Wellington repaired to Paris, where he was received with particular marks of distinction, corresponding to the high renown he had acquired by his military deeds. At a ball given in that city by Sir Charles Stewart to the allied sovereigns, and upwards of four hundred distinguished individuals,

viduals, Lord Wellington, who had just arrived in Paris, was present, and attracted the whole attention of the company. Here it was he saw and conversed with his great rival in fame, the illustrious Blücher, who was presented to him. They bowed, and looked at one another for five minutes before they spoke one word; at last, however, a conversation commenced, which lasted about ten minutes. Platoff also was presented to him, followed by a crowd of officers, all anxious to obtain a sight of the British hero. Lord Wellington appeared in a British Field-Marshal's uniform, with the orders of the Golden Fleece, Garter, Great Cross of Maria Theresa, Tower and Sword, and the Swedish order of the Sword. Soon after his arrival in Paris was known, he was honoured by a visit from the Emperor of Russia.

From Paris, his Grace the Duke of Wellington proceeded to Madrid, to pay his respects to King Ferdinand. From thence he proceeded to his own country, where he arrived after an absence of nearly six years. He landed at Dover about five o'clock in the morning of the 23d of June. The same day, his Grace arrived in London, at six o'clock in the evening, and was set down at his own house in Hamilton Place.

In all places where his Grace appeared, he was welcomed by the acclamations of the people; and it would greatly exceed our limits, were we to attempt to describe the fêtes and festivities which took place in the metropolis on the arrival of this great hero. The Prince Regent, at Carlton House—the nobility and gentry, at Burlington House—the City of London, at Guildhall—and the principal merchants—all strove to outvie each other, in displaying the great admiration in which they held him.

As a reward for his eminent services, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to grant the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom to his Grace the Duke of Wellington. The honours of the Peerage were also conferred upon his Grace's noble companions in arms. These honours so deservedly conferred, were notified in the London Gazette of the 8th of May 1814, in the following manner:—

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to

grant the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto Field-Marshal Arthur Marquis of Wellington, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the names, stiles, and title of Marquis Douro, and Duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset.

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has also been pleased, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the following military officers, and the heirs male of their body, lawfully begotten: *viz.*

“ Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir John Hope, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Niddry, of Niddry, in the county of Linlithgow,

“ Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Lyndoch Balgowin, in the county of Perth.

“ Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, Bart. Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, by the name, stile and title of Baron Combermere, in the county palatine of Chester.

“ Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Hill, of Almaraz, and of Hawkestone, in the county of Salop.

“ Lieutenant-General Sir William Carr Beresford, Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Beresford, of Albuera.”

Parliament, also, was not backward in marking by its proceedings the just sense it entertained of his Grace's services. A message from the Prince Regent having been delivered to both Houses, desiring the assistance of Parliament towards making a suitable provision for the noble Duke and his heirs, Lord Liverpool, in the House of Lords, took occasion to observe—That no very long space of time had elapsed, since by many in this country, and certainly by the enemy abroad, it was supposed that the military character of Great Britain was confined to one element; it had been tauntingly said, that we did not

not dare to leave our ships and meet our enemy on land on equal terms. It had been thought that our military rank had decreased in proportion to the increase of our commerce; and that our naval strength had, on account of its connexion with our commerce, reached a height which it had never before attained; our military prowess on land had from the same cause visibly declined. How erroneously they had judged who had entertained this notion, was now abundantly manifested. They had seen that, by the unshaken perseverance of this country, by the splendid talents of the illustrious person who had commanded our armies, by the admirable skill with which he had employed the means placed in his hands, by the good conduct, valour, perseverance, and abilities, of those who had been engaged with him in this great work—they had now seen that, by all these qualities and circumstances combined, the military character of the British nation, by land as well as by sea, had been raised to a pitch of renown equal or superior to that which it had ever before at any period attained, not inferior to that which had been gained by any nation in the world. In considering this subject, they were naturally led to look back to the succession war of Queen Anne. No one could rate higher than he did the abilities and services of the Duke of Marlborough. The manner in which he commanded in the field, the skill and talent which he displayed in keeping the confederates together, and turning their exertions to the best account, justly entitled him to rank among the greatest captains of any age or nation. He (Lord Liverpool) knew how few had commanded with so much success; that he never fought a battle which he did not gain—never laid siege to a town which he did not take. He knew the magnanimity which he had evinced, the difficulties which he had to encounter, the harmony and concert which his talents had maintained. But Marlborough had been opposed to Louis XIV. in the decline of his power, when his most eminent officers were dead or unemployed, and when Marshal Villiers was perhaps the only very great general with whom he had to contend. Let their Lordships then look at the Duke of Wellington, opposed to Buonaparte in the plenitude of his power, with not only France, but Italy, and the greater part of the Peninsula, at his

command. Their Lordships might remember what was the state of Europe four years ago, when Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the whole continent, were on the side of France—when nothing remained of Europe, except Great Britain, and the space within the lines of Torres Vedras, and the limits of Cadiz. Let them consider the situation of the civilized world at that period, and then look at the advance of Lord Wellington from Torres Vedras in 1810; let them follow his steps to Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and the brilliant exploits there performed; let them then follow his course in those operations which closed with the battle of Salamanca; let them then trace his steps to Vittoria, see him deliver Spain and Portugal from the hands of the oppressor, carry the war into the invaders' own country, and at last plant the British standard at Bourdeaux. Let them look at this, and say, whether the renown which was gained had ever been exceeded or equaled at any former period of our history. Let them, in addition to all this, consider the glorious example thus given to other nations—that example which had been followed with so much success, and led to the deliverance of the whole of Europe.”

No one who has read these Memoirs can say, that this strain of eloquence of his Lordship was overcharged.

His Lordship proceeded to observe, that “if ever there was an occasion which called for some distinguished exertion of national munificence, some mark not only of the approbation of the sovereign, but of the applause and gratitude of Parliament and the country, it was this. He was aware he had done but little justice to the glorious subject—but little justice to his own feelings; but, in speaking on such a subject at all, he could not do otherwise than say so much, though aware that he should have no opposition to encounter. He should now proceed to state to their Lordships the particular nature of the grant that was proposed to be made: it was to be brought forward in the shape of a bill, and, as their Lordships knew, must originate in another place. It was intended then, in addition to the annuity and grant already made to the Duke of Wellington, to give an annuity of £10,000 out of the consolidated fund. The House must be aware, however, that the provision proposed to be attached

attached to the dukedom ought to be invested in land; and though the £10,000 a year was to be paid now out of the consolidated fund, it was proposed that the commissioner of the treasury should be authorised, at the requisition of the Duke of Wellington, to issue the sum of £300,000 at once, or at different times, as his Grace should find it most convenient, upon meeting with estates which might appear to him to answer the purpose for which the grant was designed; and in proportion as this was advanced, in part or in whole, the annuity from the consolidated fund was to diminish in proportion, or to cease altogether, as the case might be. From the experience acquired in the instance of the grant to the Duke of Wellington, it was ascertained that the investing the money in land, by a commissioner appointed for that purpose, was the most inconvenient mode that could be adopted; and therefore it had been thought most advisable to adopt the present plan, and to leave it with the individual to make the proper purchase. The whole then, his Lordship said, would stand thus: an annuity of £4000 had been already granted, and a sum of £100,000, and these, together with the £10,000 a year intended to be given, would form an income of about £17,000 a year."

The Duke of Norfolk said, that he felt more proud of having a person like the Duke of Wellington standing in the same rank with himself, than if he claimed that rank only from hereditary descent; it added more dignity and grace to the Peerage. With respect to the grant he cordially agreed in it, and would not have been sorry if it had been larger: he wished the estate might be perpetually entailed upon the titles; and, in case of failure of heirs male, that it should revert to the crown.

It is almost needless to observe, that these sentiments of the Upper House were cordially embraced by the Lower, who even went farther; for the original proposition of ministers was altered, and, instead of the grant as proposed by Lord Liverpool, £400,000 was voted, and the annuity augmented to £13,000; so that with the sum of £100,000 already granted, half a million was placed at the disposal of his Grace: a munificence worthy of parliament, and honourable to the country.

In taking his seat in the Upper House of Parliament, great formality was observed on the occasion, and all possible

possible respect was shewn to his Grace. The Duke of Norfolk, acting as Earl Marshal, led the procession into the house; Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter King at arms, appearing in his tabard and state habiliments. His Grace entered the house supported by the Dukes of Richmond and Beaufort, all in military uniform, and in their ducal robes of state. After the usual ceremonies were gone through, his Grace took his seat on the Dukes' bench, when the Lord Chancellor rose, and addressed his Grace to the following effect:—

“ My Lord Duke of Wellington—In obedience to the commands of their Lordships, I have to communicate to your Grace the thanks of the House, and the cordial congratulations of their Lordships on your return from your continental service, and on your introduction to a seat of the very highest rank and dignity in this house. Those high and distinguished honours have been well and eminently merited by your Grace, by a long series of splendid and signal services, performed in various places and situations, but more especially on the continent of Europe. The cordial and applauding thanks of this house—the highest honorary distinction in the power of their Lordships to bestow—have not only been most frequently and repeatedly voted to you, with the most perfect unanimity, but your Grace has had the additional satisfaction of being the medium and channel through which the like honours have been conveyed, at various periods, to other gallant and meritorious officers, who have commensurately distinguished themselves under your Grace's direction and command. In the instance of your Grace, also, is to be seen the first and most honourable distinction of a member of this house being at his first introduction placed in the very highest and most distinguished rank among their Lordships and in the peerage. No language, no expression of mine, however fully I feel impressed with their magnitude and importance, can do justice to your great and unparalleled services and merits; their nature and character is such as will render the name of Wellington immortal, and will constitute one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of this country. They have been frequently and justly felt by this house, and repeatedly made the subject of its thanks and its applause. In the sentiments so often and so justly expressed

pressed by this House, I have, for my own humble part, most fully and cordially participated. The wisdom, gallantry, and exertions so frequently displayed by your Grace, in a long series of services in the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, are beyond any language I can use to characterize or express. Your freeing the kingdom of Portugal from the arm and power of France—your glorious career of victory, in subduing on various occasions, and pursuing the enemy through the territory of Spain, more especially on the signal occasions of the victories of Salamanca and Vittoria, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and other mighty fortresses—will be luminously inscribed in the page of British history, as well as your subsequent successes, by which you led on the allied forces, until you had established them in occupation far within the territories of France. Great and important as these services are in themselves, their consequences are incalculable; with reference not only to their so greatly contributing to secure the prosperity and tranquillity of your own country, but to the peace, the happiness, and the independence, of Europe at large, by infusing the spirit of resistance, and enabling other countries to place themselves in that state, which enabled them successfully to resist the influence and the power of the common enemy. You will have the heartfelt, the glorious satisfaction of considering yourself as principally instrumental in the achievement of this great work; and for all which I feel a conscious pride and satisfaction, in being the organ of communicating in person, and on this auspicious occasion, the recent vote of thanks of this house, which I am thus directed to pronounce—‘That the thanks and congratulations of this House be given to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, on his return from his command on the continent of Europe; and for the great, signal, and eminent services which he has so repeatedly rendered therein to his Majesty and the public.’—”

The Lord Chancellor having expressed himself generally to the foregoing effect, in a most feeling and impressive manner, his Grace the Duke of Wellington, evidently under strong and laudable feelings of embarrassment, proceeded to answer the address from the woolsack, in terms to the following effect:—He assured his

his Lordship and the House, he felt himself overwhelmed by the strength of his feelings, as occasioned by what he must consider as the very flattering language, far beyond his personal merits, in which the expressions of their Lordships' favour and approbation were conveyed to him that day; and for which he had to tender his most sincere and grateful thanks. The successes which had attended his humble but zealous efforts in the service of his country, he had principally to attribute to the ample support which he had received from his Prince, his government, and that country; and also to the zealous co-operation and assistance which he had received from his gallant and meritorious companions in arms, and the valour and exertions of that army which he had the honour to command. The support which he had thus received encouraged and excited him, and gave rise to that conduct, on which, by the favour of Parliament, its unanimous approbation and applause had been pronounced. For those honours, and to that of the other House of Parliament, he felt most gratefully indebted. These, together with the very kind and flattering manner in which the noble Lord was pleased to express himself, he repeated, were sufficient to overwhelm one who felt unconscious of deserving such a degree of panegyric and eulogium. He could assure their Lordships, he had endeavoured to serve his country and Prince to the best of his power and ability; and that he would always endeavour so to do, whenever occasion might require it, in the best manner in which his limited capacity would allow him.

On the 1st of July, his Grace received the thanks of the House of Commons for his great and eminent services. Soon after five o'clock on that day, Lord Castlereagh rose and said, "Mr. Speaker—The resolution to which this House unanimously agreed yesterday evening having been communicated to the Duke of Wellington, I have now to inform you that his Grace is in attendance. I shall therefore move, that the Duke of Wellington be now called in." This motion having been unanimously and eagerly adopted, the noble Duke was conducted to the bar by the Serjeant at Arms, the whole House rising upon his entrance within the bar; and Mr. Speaker having informed him that there was a chair in which
he

he might repose himself, the Duke sat down covered for some time, the Serjeant standing on his right hand with the mace grounded; and the House resumed their seats. His Grace then rose, and, uncovered, spoke to the following effect:—

“ Mr. Speaker—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this House, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me, in deputing a committee of members of this House to congratulate me on my return to this country; and this, after the House had animated my exertions by their applause upon every occasion which appeared to merit their approbation, and after they had filled up the measure of their favours by conferring upon me, at the recommendation of the Prince Regent, the noblest gift that any subject had ever received.

“ I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this House and the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operation by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a termination.

“ By the wise policy of Parliament, the government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my direction; and I was encouraged by the confidence reposed in me by his Majesty’s ministers and by the commander-in-chief, by the gracious favour of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this House, for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments.

“ Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel: I can only assure the House, that I shall always be ready to serve his Majesty, in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this House.”

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, who during the foregoing

speech sat covered, stood up, uncovered, and spoke to his Grace as follows:—

“ My Lord—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

“ The military triumphs which your valour has achieved, upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children’s children.

“ It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause: it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fates and fortunes of mighty empires.

“ For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments. But this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor: it owes to you the proud satisfaction, that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence. And when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate, the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth.

“ It now remains only, that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission on which
you

you are about to proceed; and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

And then his Grace withdrew, making his obeisances in like manner as upon entering the house, and the whole House rising again whilst his Grace was re-conducted by the Serjeant from his chair to the the door of the house.

In the London Gazette of July 5th, 1814, his Grace the Duke of Wellington's appointment of Ambassador to France, appeared; and in the beginning of August his Grace set out on his embassy. He arrived at Dover on Monday the 8th of August, under a salute from the batteries; but, the weather being too rough to embark there, his Grace proceeded to Deal, where the Griffin sloop of war was ordered to meet him. In the evening his Grace embarked for Ostend, and soon after commenced his inspection of the fortresses in the Netherlands. After reviewing the British troops in that quarter, and giving every necessary instruction for the strengthening of the fortified places, he proceeded to Paris, where he made his public entry on the 23d, and was presented to Louis XVIII. on the 25th of August. The latter ceremony displayed all the pomp of which it was capable, the French monarch displaying an evident anxiety to pay his Excellency and the British nation all due honours.

On his introduction to Monsieur, the latter addressed him in these words—"The King and all the Royal Family of France receive the highest pleasure from the choice the Prince Regent has made of a hero worthy to be his representative. It is our desire and hope to see a durable peace established between two nations made rather to esteem than to wage war with one another."

Such we have no doubt are the real sentiments, not only of every branch of that illustrious family, but of every well-informed person in France. But that there are still in that country perturbed spirits, who would if possible rekindle the flames of discord among the powers of Europe, the papers of that country daily afford sufficient proof. Such conduct, however, ought not to excite our astonishment, particularly if we reflect how the pride of the French soldiery has been humbled, and the inordinate self-love of that people so cruelly wounded.

Hence we are persuaded, that it will require all the address and firmness of the new monarch, together with the cordial co-operation of the British ambassador, to prevent the dangerous ebullition of these furious and degrading passions.

Having thus gone through the life of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, it now only remains for us to speak of his private character. This has been so abundantly and ably done by others, that it is only necessary here to select a few traits from that mass of panegyric which has been heaped upon him.

Perhaps no man, in any station of life, was ever more generally beloved; to which his extreme suavity of manners has greatly contributed. The affability of his deportment at his table, during his campaigns, is well known to the officers of his army, and tended to conciliate and endear him to all who had the good fortune to approach his person, and receive the honour of his notice. In the midst of those cares which were inseparable from his high command, he always found leisure to attend to the minutiae of his arrangements; and no instance could be found where his regulations for the conduct of his army were inefficient. The secrecy which he observed on all occasions, and his rapidity of conception, gave him incalculable advantages. No preparation was ever necessary for the establishment of head-quarters previous to a march, their removal always keeping pace with the army. On the 5th of March 1811, the usual large dinner-party were assembled at head-quarters in Cartaxo, and his Grace joined with his accustomed vivacity in the conversation of his guests, when the Conde de Lumiar, an aid-de-camp of Marshal Beresford's, arrived with an important dispatch. His Grace glanced at the contents, and for a moment only a thoughtful expression rested on his intelligent countenance; he then renewed the discourse, which chanced to turn upon the virtues of the *Eau Medicinale*, or specific for the gout, and upon this trifling subject his Grace dwelt for some time with all that wit and pleasantry which give such a charm to his conversation. This was on the eve of Massena's memorable retreat, and when one would imagine his mind must be occupied with the most important considerations. The party broke up at the usual hour, ten o'clock:

o'clock: at three in the morning his Grace was on horse-back, and soon after day-break the whole army was in active pursuit of the French.

It is the peculiar character of the noble Duke's dispatches to convey, in a manner which carries comprehension to the dullest, a clear picture of the transactions which employ his pen, divested of that colouring only required to adorn the pages of fiction; at the same time, they possess one most valuable quality, being faithful transcripts, to which the future historian will eagerly apply for that information which he cannot hope to obtain from a purer or more authentic source.

In contemplating the character of a great man, it is natural to compare him with others who have excelled in like circumstances. The nearest approach to him is the great Marlborough: like him, his Grace possesses a degree of civic talent, which of itself would have raised him to high honours and distinctions. It is this quality, in particular, which has led government to entrust larger powers to him than were perhaps ever before given to any other military commander. So many specimens indeed has he given of his diplomatic skill, that no powers appear to be indiscreetly bestowed upon him; and his recent appointment, as ambassador to the French government, is a strong confirmation that his Grace's diplomatic talents are held in the greatest estimation by the government at home. This appointment, from its very nature, and from the critical circumstances of the times, cannot but be attended with peculiar difficulties, and must require the greatest exertion of talent to preserve the existing harmony between the two greatest countries in the world.

With respect to some parts of his character, it may not be amiss to notice his indefatigable activity: if proofs of this were wanting, they might easily be pointed out in these Memoirs. But the great and leading traits of his character are to be found in that steadiness and Fabian-like conduct, as evinced in his retreat to his lines at Torres Vedras, by which he preserved his own strength unbroken whilst that of his enemy was wasting away; and by which means the parties of patriots in the Peninsula had time and opportunity of acquiring skill and discipline, and were rendered available to the

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most noble purpose. Independent of this quality, so essential in a commander, he wanted not, when necessary, prompt decision of action; this he most eminently displayed in all his campaigns, but particularly in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, which he took in half the time it was thought possible by the French commander. By the capture of this place, connected with that of Almeida, he not only formed a powerful defence for Portugal, but opened a way for carrying on the war into the very heart of Spain.

That he sees every thing himself, and that he might be said to live with his soldiers, is another important trait in his character. He never ordered his army to move without seeing that his troops were well provided with one or two days' sustenance: he always put them in motion at an early hour, in order that they might arrive at their ground at night in good time; and he never halted them without taking care that every comfort and facility possible might be afforded to the troops for the preparation of their repast. To their comfort in cantonments he was equally attentive; and also to the hospitals. In the early part of the war his Grace's regulations were deemed so oppressive by the then medical people, that, in a body, they sent in their resignations. To this he is said merely to have answered, "Gentlemen, I accept your resignations, and shall immediately write home for a fresh medical staff; but, mark me! until they come out, you shall remain here, and you shall perform your duty." This was an observation which highly became him as a general, and which greatly redounds to his honour as a man.

Secret to an extreme in all his plans, yet his Grace has that frankness of communication at his table, that he has been accused of not preserving the proper concealment of his own intentions; this is too absurd, however, even to require refutation. But on service he is so precise in his manners, so formal even to his own brother-in-law, that implicit obedience is the certain result. Indeed, he trusts so much to his own powers, that he asks the opinion of no man. Even his staff were always ignorant of his intentions: at head-quarters all was conjecture. He thinks, acts, and succeeds; and so well is he understood and seconded, that scarcely is his plan formed, before

before it is executed. So guarded, in fact, is his secrecy, that we understand he once humourously said, "If I thought the hair of my head knew my plans, I would wear a wig."

Before the late great events of his life had given *éclat* to character, it was well observed of him by an intelligent writer, that in all his former actions there were two or three principal characteristic traits—an indefatigable activity; a sagacity which sees and determines in the moment, and a promptitude which instantaneously acts; an indifference to the mere circumstance of numerical equality; an incomparable readiness in disencumbering himself of whatever is superfluous, and an equal readiness in determining what is superfluous, and the exact point of time when it becomes so. Combined with these traits, it is proper to observe, that his Grace is stated by those who have the best opportunities of knowing it, to enjoy an admirable self-possession and command of animated spirits and temper under any state of circumstances, never losing himself in the moment of victory, coolly weighing the passing events where he finds himself checked, and thus proving that he would not lose himself even in defeat!

To him may his grateful country and the world impute that glorious termination of a war which seemed to defy all limits to its duration. And to him, as the first cause, is to be attributed the downfall of a tyranny which even a few years or months before it would have been thought madness to have anticipated. It is grateful to reflect that his services have not gone unrewarded, and that his country, in estimating them, has given a noble proof of its munificence, in the honours and rewards which it has bestowed upon him and his noble companions in arms.

His Grace is capable of undergoing the greatest fatigue, and enjoys an excellent share of health; he lives very moderately, drinking only a few glasses of wine after dinner, conversing with great frankness, and seemingly unconscious of his own greatness. In his campaigns he never claimed to himself any superior comforts; but simply slept on a leather mattress two feet wide, when he could procure shelter, and at other times lying

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on the bare ground, surrounded by his gallant officers, and faithful soldiers. Habituated to this kind of life, we may naturally conclude, that wealth to him is an object of but secondary consideration.

To inherit his titles, and to share his fortune, his Grace has two sons: the eldest, Charles, born the 3d of February 1807; and another, born the 16th of January, 1808. But it is to be hoped, that this great hero, this modern Marlborough, this military Nelson, will yet be long preserved to his grateful country, to his admiring friends, and to his faithful consort; and that a noble and a numerous race will hand down his gallant name to the latest posterity!

In his person, his Grace is about the middle size, and remarkably handsome; his countenance is of the Roman cast, and every feature is full of expression, denoting the vigour and genius which illumine the mind of the hero, and qualify him for deeds of glory and renown.



Charles John, Prince Royal of Sweden.

Memoirs of the Public Life
OF
CHARLES JOHN BERNADOTTE,
CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

AMIDST that constellation of extraordinary individuals which the French Revolution has produced, few are more deserving of an early place in these Memoirs than the illustrious personage we have now selected. Born of a respectable but obscure family, he has, by an amazing fortune, become destined to sway the sceptre of a great kingdom. For this singular elevation he is no less indebted to the talents he possesses, than to a rare combination of circumstances which have led to it. Called by the voice of Sweden as the successor to its throne, he has eminently proved himself worthy of its choice; and, by his wise policy, as well as by the force of his arms, has conferred upon his adopted country the most substantial benefits.

With regard to the justice and equity of dethroning a lawful monarch, and of calling to the throne a new family, the opinions of mankind will naturally be divided: and hence some may call in question the right which the subject of this Memoir has to the crown of Sweden; whilst others, insisting that every nation has a right to chuse its own governors, may consider his title the best he could possibly have, being founded upon the free choice of the people. Leaving these conflicting opinions, however, to be decided by their respective supporters, we may observe, that, independent of the interest which a personage standing in this situation must excite, he is also entitled to our early notice from the conspicuous share he held in the late memorable campaigns, which led to such glorious results. To him, in a most eminent degree, is to be imputed the success of the grand strug-

gle, arising as well from his councils in the cabinet, as from his co-operation in the field. Having, therefore, such strong claims to our notice, we cannot, we think, better consult the wishes of our readers than by presenting them thus early with his Memoirs.

Charles John Bernadotte was born at Pau, in the department of the Lower Pyrenees, in France, on the 26th of January 1763. His father followed the profession of the law, and was highly respected for his integrity. It was his wish that his son should be brought up to the same profession; but the active mind of Bernadotte could not stoop to follow its dry studies. He accordingly left his father at the very early age of fifteen, and enlisted in the regiment of Royal Marines as a private. In this corps, he served in the American war, under M. de Bussy, in the East Indies; and, after that, under Bailley de Suffrein. He was soon raised from the ranks; for in less than a year he was made a corporal, and soon after a serjeant.

From the period of the termination of the American war to the breaking out of the French revolution, nothing particular in the life of Bernadotte occurred; but, in the year 1789, a remarkable circumstance took place, which served to shew the firmness of his character, and gave proofs that at no distant period he would raise himself to notice.

His corps of Royal Marines being stationed at Marseilles, at the time of the bursting out of the French revolution, and when parties ran extremely high, his Colonel, the Marquis D'Ambert, had, in a particular manner, excited the hatred and jacobinical antipathy of the inhabitants; and it was determined by the mob to murder him. Having proceeded to his hotel for this horrid purpose, Bernadotte fortunately arrived at the critical moment, and by his cool and intrepid conduct arrested their purpose. Having collected a sufficient number of men to protect the hotel, he addressed the rioters in the following manner—"Marseillois! as you assure me that I possess your confidence, I will prove to you that I deserve it: I then absolutely declare, that I will not allow you to dishonour yourselves by a most base assassination. If the Colonel is guilty, the law will render justice: citizens and soldiers are not executioners.

I request

I request you then to retire; as, before you will obtain the head of the Colonel, you must deprive me, and the brave men who surround me, of our's." This energetic appeal had the desired effect; the mob instantly dispersed; and Bernadotte had the gratification of not only saving his colonel's life, but of receiving, for this act of magnanimity, the particular and deserved thanks of his grateful colonel and all the officers of the corps.

He was now appointed Clerk to the parliament of Pau; and, on the formation of the national guards, he was made Adjutant to those of Pau. He now rapidly advanced, being promoted to the rank of Colonel in the army in 1793.

An anecdote is related of him at this time, which serves to exhibit his character in a very strong light. General Goguet, who had rapidly advanced from the ranks to the command of a division, not being able to rally his men, had recourse to blows; the French military code authorizing an officer to strike any one running away from an enemy. A soldier, however, having received this indignity, immediately shot the general dead on the spot. Colonel Bernadotte, actuated by his feelings for the unfortunate general, and wishing to preserve military discipline, which was here outrageously violated, determined to bring the murderer to justice. He demanded of the commanding officer, to whose corps the assassin belonged, that he should be immediately given up to punishment; but a plea of defence was directly advanced—that the soldier was innocent, having received a most gross provocation. Colonel Bernadotte, however, by his arguments and eloquence, succeeded in shewing the absurdity of the defence, and how detrimental it would be to the service should such a crime pass unpunished. The criminal was therefore given up, and instantly shot. Thus, by a proper degree of firmness, he not only avenged the death of a general endeared to him by many services, but succeeded in establishing a discipline, so essential to the welfare and operations of an army.

Being appointed to the command of the advanced guard of the French army under General Kleber, he greatly distinguished himself at the attack near Marchienne au Pont, and particularly called forth the praises of the commander-in-chief.

During the memorable campaign of 1795 he was actively engaged; and, after the fall of Maëstricht, his division occupied Bonn Cologne and Coblenz. At the siege of Mentz, Bernadotte was sent with his division against a corps of Austrians which General Clairfait had detached in the direction of the Hunsprach. Here he vigorously attacked the town of Creutznach, which was occupied by the Austrians, which he succeeded in carrying, and took many prisoners.

In the campaign of 1796, General Jourdan having resolved to advance upon Ratisbon, where the Diet of Germany held its sittings, Bernadotte with a strong division of the army was ordered to advance in that direction. Here, however, he was opposed by the Archduke Charles; who, leaving a sufficient force to watch General Moreau, crossed the Danube at Ingolstadt, with the intention of interposing between Ratisbon and the French army. Hearing, however, of the defeat of General Wartensleben, who had been attacked and defeated by General Jourdan, he altered his route, and advanced to Hemman, which place he reached on the 20th of August. The Archduke now ordered General Nauendorff to take possession of the heights of Taswaug, whilst Lieutenant-General Hotz marched with a column towards Bellugress, to secure his left and the road from Ratisbon to Nuremberg. General Nauendorff, in discharge of his orders, came in contact with the division of Bernadotte; and on the 22d a most sanguinary battle was fought at the village of Tenning, which was several times taken and retaken, and at last set fire to by the Austrians, who by this means hoped to dislodge the French. Whilst this attack was going forward, the left of Bernadotte's corps was attacked by the right of the Archduke's army, and compelled to give way; by which means Bernadotte's retreat became cut off, and his situation rendered extremely critical. In situations like this, however, a great general never fails to display his superiority; and, whilst ordinary minds would sink under the pressure of events, it adds only to the means of a great genius to display its powers. Finding his situation thus critical, and that no means were left to extricate himself but the most determined conduct, he placed himself at the head of his reserve; and, notwithstanding the

the great fatigue his men had endured (for they had been engaged the whole day), he was determined to attempt to obtain his lost ground. He therefore addressed his troops to the following effect—"Soldiers, and my friends! you know what care I have always taken of your welfare since I had the happiness of commanding such brave fellows as yourselves; the moment is now arrived for testifying your grateful sense of it, deserving well of your country; and covering yourselves with glory." To this address the troops instantly answered with cheers, "that they were ready to follow General Bernadotte to hell." Having inspired them with this spirit, he immediately directed the charge to be beat, and advanced with the whole line in close columns against the centre of the Austrians; who, although three times more numerous than the assailants, could not withstand the ardour of the French troops, but were obliged to give way. Notwithstanding this success, however, his situation was still extremely critical; for the Archduke Charles had detached General Starray's division against the left of the French, whilst other columns were advancing towards Neumarkt. Bernadotte therefore found it necessary to make his retreat; and in the evening he arrived at Neumarkt. On the following morning he was attacked by the Austrians; but, finding his force unequal to stand against the troops that were brought against him, he effected his retreat from Neumarkt to Altdorf, where he was joined by General Jourdan, the commander-in-chief.

On the 27th of August he was ordered to attack an Austrian corps, under the Prince of Lichtenstein and General Kray, which had possessed itself of the great road leading from Bamberg to Wurtzburg. In this affair he displayed his usual talents; and the general-in-chief having directed a retreat along the right bank of the Maine, it was executed by General Bernadotte in the best manner.

At the battle of Wurtzburg, which ended so disastrously to the French army, Bernadotte took no part in it, having excused himself from illness; in fact, a large tumour had formed on his forehead. He however strongly advised against it, but Jourdan would listen to no advice; and the consequence of the battle was, that
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the French army was defeated with the loss of 4500 in killed and wounded, and was compelled to make a rapid and disastrous retreat. When General Jourdan was recalled in consequence, he wished Bernadotte to give him a certificate of his good conduct: but the latter refused to comply with this wish; and, on being pressed, he indignantly answered, "I can only give you an attestation of imbecility: every body knows you are an honest man, a brave soldier, and a good citizen; but it is for the public interest, that the government should be well convinced that you are incapable of successfully commanding in chief even four men and a corporal."

The French army having now re-crossed the Rhine, Bernadotte's head-quarters were at Coblenz; where, it appears, he had by his manners endeared himself not only to the inhabitants, but to every individual of his division: but calumny, which usually directs its shafts against real merit, sought to throw doubts upon his probity. It was asserted at this time in the Paris newspapers, that he had levied contributions upon the town of Nuremberg. How far this calumny was founded in truth does not appear. It is certain, however, that the burgomasters of that town offered him a considerable present in gold, which he refused, though it had been observed to him that the Prussian and Austrian generals had never required much pressing to accept of similar presents. Bernadotte replied, "that every one was master of his own actions; and that the only reward he required of the magistrates in return for keeping his troops in good discipline, was, that they would pay the greatest attention to his sick and wounded."

This attack of his jealous enemies affected him very sensibly; and, after having fully refuted them by incontestible evidence, he resolved to quit a situation which exposed him to be the subject of every one's declamation. He solicited leave to retire upon his half-pay. The Directory refused to accede to it, and addressed a very flattering letter to him; in which, after having advised him only to answer with the most silent contempt the unfounded reports of the enviers of his glory, they added, that the government relied upon his talents and patriotism still to continue ably serving his country. This was not sufficient to appease his mind; but General Kleber,

Kleber, who was then at Coblentz, and who was the author of Bernadotte's military fortune, and who had a powerful ascendancy over him, succeeded in dissuading him from quitting the army. He observed to him—
“ If you return into France, my dear Bernadotte, with your frank disposition and love of justice, I foretel, you will be guillotined before three months are over. Not only is the government composed of five robbers, but every little village is governed by a mayor of the same stamp. The secret police, which is in regard to politics what the science of mining is to the art of war, is confided to a set of scoundrels, who abuse their power to glut their vengeance, and to cause the most virtuous characters to perish, or at least to suffer disgrace. In vain will you conduct yourself as an honest citizen: they will counterfeit your hand-writing; they will accuse you of a traitorous correspondence, of which you had never the least idea; and, through the perfidy of enemies whom those enviers of your merit will not fail to raise against you, all your fine projects of philosophy and retreat will only tend to cause you to perish on a scaffold as a traitor to your country, as was the case with Luckner, Custine, Beauharnois, Houchen, and many other brave military men. Our governors are lawyers, and jealous of the glory of their generals. They are base, uninformed, proud, vindictive, and cruel; in a word, they possess only a genius for doing evil. Their dominion cannot last long: Providence always, sooner or later, does justice on the wicked, and recompenses the good. Await patiently that happy period in the bosom of your friends; and don't go and offer yourself up to those tigers thirsting for blood, who have for four years preyed upon the vitals of our unhappy country. I admit, you might be happy for a month in your rural life; but, no sooner would you hear the drums of your national guards, than recollections dear to your heart would make you regret the army. You were born to live in camps, and to die in the field of battle. Do you really believe that the vociferations of the Jacobins of your village will not again wish to make you hear the acclamations of applause with which your grenadiers have so often hailed you on the excellent manœuvres you have caused them to execute on the day of battle. Would you wish, in short, to know
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my whole opinion? Well, I am almost positive that those very same Directors, who have written to you in such very obliging terms to request you to continue in the army, are themselves the authors of the infamous reports which have been circulated concerning you with regard to the contributions at Nuremberg. Can you, in short, confide in the treacherous assurances of those villains, who, while they embrace you with one hand, are holding a dagger in the other ready to plunge into your breast? We have for three years fought together in the same ranks: I always felt a brother's tenderness for you; and, as a sincere friend, I request you to continue with us."

To these friendly sentiments Bernadotte appears to have yielded; and, in a few days afterwards, General Kleber, having received orders from the Directory to send a corps of 15,000 men, with a division's staff, as a reinforcement to the army of Italy, then commanded by Buonaparte, he proposed to Bernadotte to take the command of this column; and, the more to induce him to it, he observed that this destination would afford him an opportunity of acquiring fresh glory and information, as the successes of Buonaparte were of too imposing a nature to leave a doubt of their proceeding from a superior genius. Bernadotte, accordingly, undertook the command of this corps, and immediately commenced his march from Coblenz to Milan in Italy. At Mentz, Dijon, and Lyons, the general officers and privates were received in triumph; and so great was the discipline observed on the march, that only one complaint was made against the troops; and, what must ever appear highly creditable to the military character of Bernadotte, although the army marched through France, and every thing would concur to induce the troops to desert, only thirty out of the whole 15,000 left their colours.

In the month of February 1797, he effected the passage of the Alps. The Milanese were struck with astonishment on beholding such fine troops, and in such excellent condition, after a long and fatiguing march in so bad a time of the year. Instead of being billeted on the inhabitants, they were quartered on the convents, whose only furniture was the same straw which had already served for bedding to the Austrian prisoners of the garrison of Mantua, who had passed through Milan
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some days before, on their march to France. When informed by the commanders of the different regiments that the lodgings appointed could not be occupied without materially affecting the health of the troops, Bernadotte ordered the commandant of the place to quarter the troops on the inhabitants. This officer, whose name was Dupuy, and who was greatly in favour with Buonaparte, repaired to Bernadotte, and told him in a slighting tone, that these convents had been found very good by the *citizens* of the army of Italy, and that consequently the *gentlemen* of the army of the Rhine might very well put up with them. Bernadotte answered him, that he would dispense with such observations, and would only recommend him to execute promptly the orders he had given him to quarter the troops on the inhabitants. Dupuy replied, that he had his instructions from General Buonaparte, and that he would make no alteration in them until he had received orders from the same general. Bernadotte hinted to him, that he might order him to be arrested. "Learn, General," said Dupuy, "that I belong to the army of Italy; and that I am not to receive orders from you, a general of the army of the Rhine." At the same time he cast a furious look upon Bernadotte, dragging his sabre on the ground. Bernadotte told him in a very calm tone, but full of dignity, "The Republic has but one army, of which I am a General, and you a Colonel. I punish you conformably to the penal code, which is the same for the officers of the Rhine and Italy. With regard to the petulance you have very unseasonably exhibited, be assured that the only regret I feel is, that you are not a general of division like myself, as I would then have given you a lesson you would not soon have forgotten." Dupuy, perceiving he had to do with a man who knew how to insure himself respect, was silent; and punctually executed Bernadotte's order.

Bernadotte had now to encounter a greater difficulty than that which we have just related; for when the troops were ordered to proceed on their march from Milan, they actually refused to depart until their arrears were paid. This circumstance was extremely mortifying, as Buonaparte's orders for him to join were urgent, and he only waited for Bernadotte's division to come up

to commence operations against the Archduke Charles; and were the troops not to arrive at the appointed time, the blame would naturally attach to the commander for not using proper means and authority to insure obedience. On hearing of the disobedience of the troops, Bernadotte immediately advanced on the ground, and gave orders for departing. For the first time, the soldiers were deaf to his voice. He promised them their pay should be disbursed on their arrival at Mantua; and that it was impossible to do it at Milan, as there was not a farthing in the public chest. A grenadier, who was no doubt the chief of the mutiny, cried out, "There will be no more money at Mantua than at Milan; and if we consent to depart, the Austrians will be engaged to give us our pay in lead and iron." These few words served to confirm the troops in their obstinacy. In this critical situation, Bernadotte had recourse to a violent expedient: he resolved to maintain his honour, or perish in the attempt. He exclaimed in a loud voice—"Since you refuse to obey me, the law authorizes me to kill every one who refuses to march against the enemy; and you shall either suffer under the ignominy of having assassinated your general, who has been so long a father to you, or I will run my sabre through the body of every mutineer." He then advanced to the right of the 30th regiment, and applying the point of his sabre to the breast of the first grenadier of the right, he told him in a furious tone—"To the right wheel, or I'll kill you!" The grenadier, who fortunately happened to be an orderly character, obeyed; the second did the same; and the whole division followed their example.

These anecdotes strongly mark the character of this celebrated general; and, if no other proofs were afforded of his capacity to govern, they alone would be sufficient for that purpose.

Buonaparte was highly pleased with the conduct of Bernadotte on this occasion, and from this time entertained a great esteem for him. The good clothing of the troops, the gentlemanly manners of the officers, the severe discipline, and good information, of Bernadotte's division, afforded an agreeable surprise to Buonaparte. When he passed them in review, his satisfaction was complete; and it was easy to perceive how pleased he was

was in hearing the officers and subalterns reply to all his questions with a precision exactly conformable to the regulations of the French army. The contrast between this division and the army of Italy was very striking. In the latter, you could not distinguish the officer from the common soldier; almost all were equally ignorant, dirty, covered with rags, often with bare feet and legs, eating promiscuously, and passing in the public-house the days they were not fighting. Their only excellence was a well-tryed intrepidity. Berthier, Buonaparte's chief of the staff, even said to Bernadotte, in a tone of raillery, "I am anxious to see myself whether these fine gentlemen of the army of the Rhine are not fearful of the cannon's deranging their elegant dress." "Rest assured," replied Bernadotte, viewing him fiercely, "that there is not an individual of my division who is not ready to prove to you that he is as brave as yourself."

Bernadotte had already had an explanation with Berthier, respecting the arrest ordered to Dupuy, who had complained of Bernadotte's severity. Berthier wanted to assume an ironical tone, to make Bernadotte sensible that he had ill-treated a good officer of the army. "I have punished one that was insubordinate," said Bernadotte: "if you are minded to take his part, I am your man. You are, like me, a general of division. I am far from being inclined to quarrel; but I have a hearty wish to call those of my equals to account, who, like you, think fit to assume a dictatorial tone." Berthier hereupon apologized, and said, he had only mentioned Dupuy's arrest to be better informed of that officer's fault; and he assured Bernadotte that he should be delighted to cultivate his friendship.

This division of General Bernadotte, which had excited these sarcasms, was now to be tried; for, at the passage of the Tagliamento, on the 17th of March 1797, Bernadotte was posted on the right of Buonaparte's army. As soon as Buonaparte had ordered the passage of the river, Bernadotte placed himself at the head of his columns. When they were about to enter the water, there was a momentary hesitation in the regiment at the head. The greatest depth of water was about three feet. Bernadotte observed to them, that they run no risk, as the water was no higher than their waists. A

voice was heard, exclaiming, "We are not on horseback." Upon which, Bernadotte leaped from his horse, though in the middle of the torrent, and cried out, "Advance forward." The troops immediately rushed into the river amidst the cries of "Long live our General!" The French infantry, on effecting a landing, were immediately charged by the Austrian cavalry; the latter were, however, soon compelled to give way, and finally to make a rapid retreat, with a loss of six pieces of cannon, a great number of killed and wounded, and four or five hundred prisoners.

The next exploit of Bernadotte was the taking the town of Gradisca, situated on the right bank of the Ironzo. Having in vain endeavoured to carry the place by storm, he sent the following summons to the commandant:—"Sir—You have defended yourself like a brave man; and, by doing so, have acquired the esteem of military men: but a longer resistance on your part would be a crime which I would revenge principally on you; and, to justify myself in the eyes of posterity, I must summon you to surrender in ten minutes: if you refuse, I shall put your garrison to the sword. Spare the blood which will not be spilt but by your fault. The principles of philanthropy, which ought to animate every commander, lay the obligation on you. The scaling ladders are ready; the grenadiers and chasseurs are impatient for the assault.—Answer." This had the desired effect, the governor surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

Buonaparte was highly pleased with Bernadotte on this occasion; and, in his report to the French Directory, he expressed himself as follows:—"General Bernadotte caused the enemy's entrenchments to be attacked by the sharp-shooters; but our soldiers, carried away by their natural ardour, advanced with bayonets fixed under the very walls of Gradisca. They were received by a very heavy firing of musquetry and case-shot. General Bernadotte, obliged to support them, ordered four pieces of cannon to be brought forward to force the gates; but they were covered by a strong redoubt. He sent the Austrian commandant a summons; upon which he capitulated. Three thousand prisoners, the choice of Prince Charles's army, ten pieces of cannon, and eight colours, are the fruits of this manœuvre. General Bernadotte's
division

division has conducted itself with a bravery which is a guarantee of our future success. General Bernadotte, his aides-de-camp, his generals, braved every danger." In this manner did Bernadotte, by his actions, repel the insinuations against him.

Nothing now appeared able to stop the victorious career of Buonaparte, who lost no time in following up his successes. As it is not our intention in this place, however, to give a history of this campaign, we shall merely observe, that, Laybach having been evacuated by the Austrians, General Bernadotte entered that place on the 30th of March, with his division of the French army.

Whilst his division was quartered at this place, a circumstance of a singular nature took place, which is deserving of notice. It happened that Massena's division of the army of Italy was also quartered at Laybach, at the same time as Bernadotte's. Whilst here, General Duphot, of Massena's division, came to play at billiards without any distinctive mark of his rank, and made a party with an officer of the 19th regiment of chasseurs. The general, an ardent patriot, only made use of the term *Citizen*, whilst his antagonist called him nothing but *Monsieur*, or *Sir*. Duphot, tired with hearing himself spoken to in a manner which appeared to him as aristocratic, requested him to call him *Citizen*. The officer refused, observing that he knew of no citizen but before the tribunals: and that the appellation of *Sir* appeared to him the only one proper in the intercourse of society. Duphot, nettled at his refusal, gave him a challenge, which the officer accepted. The standers-by opposed it, unwilling that a general of the army of Italy should fight with a sub-lieutenant of the army of the Rhine, for that was the rank of the officer; who, having learnt the rank of Duphot, also refused to be concerned with him, but declared himself ready to accept the match with any officer of his own rank, who might think proper to object to his using the word *Monsieur* (*Sir*). He was taken at his word, and killed Massena's officer with a sword thrust in the lungs, in the presence of several spectators of the two divisions. Massena and Bernadotte were absent: the former was gone to Paris, to carry to the Directory the ratification of the preliminaries of the peace of Leoben by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany; and

and Bernadotte was gone on an excursion to Trieste, where he awaited the arrival of his division. General Brune filled Massena's place. The cause of the fatal duel which had just taken place was very soon known. The Jacobins exclaimed loudly against the Messieurs, who thought proper to kill citizens; and the soldiers of each division immediately flew to arms. General Brune sent for General Sarrazin, as commanding *per interim* Bernadotte's division. He requested him to insert immediately in the orders of the day, "that it was forbidden to call one another *Monsieur*, instead of which they were to use the term *Citizen*;" and that he should consider him responsible for any event that might occur from his refusal. General Sarrazin answered the general, "that he had his orders from General Bernadotte; that he knew his sentiments with respect to the affair in question; that he was certain he should infinitely displease him by acquiescing in the measure proposed; and that, besides, the troops would certainly refuse to adopt that step, as quite unconnected with their military duty." At the same moment, some one came to inform General Brune, that the 32d regiment of Massena's, and the 30th regiment of Bernadotte's division, were under arms in the great place, ready to fight. General Sarrazin and General Brune immediately repaired to the spot. Whilst Brune was paying very great compliments to his troops upon their patriotism, General Sarrazin requested him to call his officers and subalterns together in the centre of the square, where he also collected together the officers and subalterns of Bernadotte's division. Colonel Dupuy headed the malcontents. Brune repeated his entreaties, assuring General Sarrazin, that if he would adopt his advice, matters would rest there. General Sarrazin persisted in his refusal, loudly exclaiming, "that it was incomprehensible how officers should be so selfish, as to expose the soldiers by the consequences of their quarrel; and that it was not in the barracks, but in the field, and man to man, that those who considered themselves insulted, ought to terminate their dispute." After which he offered to match himself against General Brune, if it should appear necessary to him, as he called him *Monsieur*. General Sarrazin ordered Bernadotte's officers and troops immediately to separate, which was done; and

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Brune, on his side, did the same. A great many individual affairs, however, took place, the result of which was 50 killed, and about 300 wounded; of which latter, according to the hospital accounts, two-thirds were of Massena's division. A rumour was falsely circulated, that Count Meerfeldt and Baron Degelman were the instigators of this quarrel. Bernadotte, who had been informed of all that had passed, returned his thanks to General Sarrazin, for having so well fulfilled his intentions; adding, that if he had followed Brune's advice, he would no longer have employed him about him, as his division had no occasion for lessons of bravery or civism from the army of Italy.

After the peace of Leoben, which was signed on the 18th of April, the French army having evacuated the Austrian territory, Frioul was assigned to Bernadotte's division, for the furnishing him with subsistence. The head-quarters were established at Udina, the capital of that province. The magistrates, always disposed to refuse what was asked of them, caused much inconvenience, by not furnishing the provisions regularly. After exhausting gentle measures, Bernadotte was obliged to use his authority: he cashiered the most refractory, replaced them by prudent men; informed them the steps they must take for the welfare of his troops, and the tranquillity of the inhabitants; and merited, by his firmness and ability, the esteem and gratitude of both the Venetians and the French. In the plain in the environs of Udina, he assembled his division twice a week, in order to make his officers and men perfect in the execution of the grand manœuvres. He himself commanded, having under him Generals Friant and Fiorella. The latter, who was Buonaparte's cousin, had been sent to replace Murat: as he was quite ignorant of every thing relative to the instruction of troops, he was provided with an officer of the division to give him directions. Bernadotte's exertions to instruct his troops were very great; the manœuvres lasting sometimes eight and ten hours at a time. He inspected every thing himself, was extremely severe to those who were wanting in energy, but prodigal in his praise to those who appeared to second him heartily.

Bernadotte had long desired to take a journey to Paris.

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He had repaired to Milan, to confer with the general-in-chief (Buonaparte) respecting the troops under his orders, which were very much augmented. At Milan he was successful enough to obtain a mission to Paris, which rendered it more agreeable to him than if he had only received leave of absence. Whilst he was at Paris, the conspiracy against the Directory broke out; and his sentiments upon the subject may be gathered from the following letter he wrote to his friend General Sarrazin.

“ Paris, the 18th Fructidor, 5th Year.

“ I write thee in haste, to inform thee that a new royal conspiracy was about breaking out, had it not been for the foresight of the Directory, who were upon the point of being destroyed. Pichegru, Willot, Villaret Joyeuse, and Rovere, are arrested. The grenadiers of the Legislative Body have fraternized with the troops of the 17th division, as also with the guards of the Directory. The Republicans have triumphed. Not a drop of blood has been spilt; consequently no tears to shed. Guilt sheds none, but it shall be punished. Every thing goes on well. The Councils have assembled. Meanwhile, the Directory, in unveiling the conspiracy, has proclaimed the pain of death against whoever should exclaim—*“ Long live the King, or the Constitution of 1793!”* This proves the wisdom and justice of the measures taken; all the people cry out—*“ Long live the Republic!”* and so do I.

J. BERNADOTTE.”

During Bernadotte's absence at Paris, Buonaparte had gone to Udina, to make his formal visit to Count Cobenzel. General Sarrazin preceded him with two regiments of horse chasseurs, and all the superior officers and staff, in grand uniform. He was escorted in the same manner on his departure. His carriage was surrounded by more than an hundred officers; all the troops of the garrison and cantonments were under arms, forming a lane in the town and on the high road. As so much pomp highly gratified him, he testified his thanks to General Sarrazin in warm terms. General Sarrazin, wishing to establish a friendly understanding between him and Bernadotte, answered, that he only fulfilled the intentions of the latter.

As soon as Buonaparte learned that Bernadotte had returned from Paris, he was before-hand with him, contrary

trary to his custom, and came the very same day to Udina, to pay him a visit, and to thank him for the extraordinary attentions he had suggested to be paid him. Bernadotte, too frank to dress himself with borrowed feathers, could not help smiling, telling him that he had left no instructions to that effect, but was very much pleased that General Sarrazin had so well *fulfilled* his intentions. Bernadotte's smile displeased Buonaparte, who resolved to revenge himself for it: he invited him and General Sarrazin to dinner, requesting them to come early. Bernadotte took him at his word; and, instead of coming a quarter of an hour before sitting down to table, as usual, they went at three in the afternoon, although he did not dine till five o'clock. The officer in service having announced them, Duroc, then Captain Aide-de-Camp, afterwards Grand Marshal of the Palace, came to tell them, very politely, that General Buonaparte was busy finishing his post, begged them to wait, and that he would soon join them. Bernadotte replied, in very ill humour, "Tell the general-in-chief that it does not suit General Bernadotte to wait in the anti-room in the army, since at Paris the Directors themselves never exposed me to a similar mortification." Duroc was going to reply, when Buonaparte suddenly made his appearance, saluted Bernadotte in a smiling manner, apologized for not having come immediately, and proposed to take a walk in the garden, whilst waiting for dinner. He had heard Bernadotte's discontented reflections; and, wishing to avoid an explanation, had recourse to dissimulation. This conversation, which lasted about two hours, without interruption, is thus given in General Sarrazin's work, entitled, "*Confessions of Buonaparte to the Abbé Maury.*"

Buonaparte.—I am sorry, General, that, instead of sending in your name, you did not come straight into my closet. You need not doubt the pleasure such a step would have given me. The officer told me that two Generals requested to speak to me, without giving me their names; but, as soon as I heard your voice, *which I know very well*, I was anxious to repair the mistake. I am sorry you could suppose I had the intention to use etiquette with you, whom I consider as the right arm of the army. (Here Buonaparte took hold of Bernadotte's hand in sign

of friendship, but at the same time biting his under lip with anger.)

Bernadotte.—I am, my General, of a country where the men have as warm heads as good hearts: the Bearnois can be gained only by gentle means. I have only to congratulate myself on your goodness towards me; and it is on that account that I could not help expressing surprise on hearing Duroc tell me to wait.

Buonaparte.—Don't let us say any more about such trifles. When I saw you the day before yesterday at Udina, we spoke a good deal about the government, and not about the armies. I am desirous to know what is the opinion of our Directors of the men who have conducted the military operations: not that that can in any wise influence the opinion I have formed of them from my private observations; but only to compare them, and laugh at my ease at the strange ideas which a set of lawyers, pretending to universal science, daily usher forth as infallible oracles, upon the causes of such a battle, and upon the talents of such a general. For example, we have just lost General Hoche, who had the chief command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse. He was, they say, a man of genius, but without judgment. His expedition to Ireland, his war in La Vendée, and even his last passage of the Rhine, in part confirm this assertion. If Hoche had known men, he would have conducted himself with wisdom, and would not have had to struggle against the leaders of the two Councils, who are, *from the vexations they caused him*, the true authors of his premature death. What do you think of it, Bernadotte? What do they say at Paris of Augereau, his successor?

Bernadotte.—The Parisians consider Hoche as one of the ablest generals the revolution has produced: they say that he is in war what Mirabeau was in politics. His manœuvres upon the Upper Rhine against the Austrians and the Prussians, and his war at La Vendée, are, in my opinion, master-pieces, indicative of a superior character. When he promised the Directory to effect the conquest of Ireland with 20,000 men, he had been himself deceived by the false reports of the state of men's minds, and the reality of the means to maintain himself in that island. He was the dupe of a few intriguers, interested in deceiving him, to gratify their own passions. The
report

report runs, that he was poisoned: the author of that atrocious act is not yet known. Hoche was honoured with a magnificent funeral; his widow and children have received pensions from the government, although the fortune of the deceased afforded them a creditable support. A number of generals and brave officers have perished with glory, in battles and in sieges, and no account has been taken of their memory nor their family. It is difficult to justify such partiality *in a free government*: one might be led to believe, that it is better to perish by the poniard, or by poison, than to spill one's blood in defence of one's country; since Hoche, supposing him to have been the victim of an assassin, is loaded with honours, whilst they leave in the greatest oblivion the brave Marceau, mortally wounded in the advanced guard of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. With regard to the choice of Augereau to replace Hoche, every body was astonished at it. It is known that he is brave; but who can say to a French soldier that he is not as brave as Augereau? One is inclined to ask, what are the talents of that man? what is the extent of his knowledge? I have been informed, that he is not only ignorant of the regulation manœuvres, but that his information is so circumscribed, as even not to know how either to read or write. He shewed some firmness on the day of the 18th Fructidor: the management of a great army is very different from the directing a coup-de-main. The government had many other generals much superior to Augereau.

Buonaparte.—It is possible Hoche may have been poisoned: he was impolitic enough to oppose men in power, who, sooner or later, will have the best of the argument. I am ignorant what motive induced the government to render extraordinary honours to this General: all that I can say to you is, that Hoche was but an indifferent general. If he had well understood his profession, not a single man would have escaped him at the battle of Neuweid. You speak of his successes against the Prussians: you have then forgotten he was completely beat at Kayserslautern. His march across *les Vosges* to join the Army of the Rhine, was chalked out by Barnot. Hoche did not know how to take advantage of the success which his numerical superiority gave him against the Austrians, in the attack upon the lines of Weissemburg; and it is

now well known, that the apparent pacification of La Vendée, was due to the judicious conciliatory disposition of General Hedouville, his chief of staff. As for Marceau, he possessed the means of becoming a good officer in the van: he wanted experience, and consequently calmness of mind. I can speak to you pertinently upon General Augereau. You have not judged rightly of him. He has distinguished himself under my orders, *and I consider him as one of the best generals of division of the Republic.* In the heat of an engagement he is alternately calm or warm, but always opportunely. It is true, his education has been neglected; but it was not his fault: and that vacuum, solely to be attributed to the poverty of his family, is well compensated by that daringness of spirit which braves every danger, and that martial air which inspires his troops with an unbounded confidence. I allow with you, that Augereau cannot write; but in this he is only in the same situation with Charlemagne, the greatest warrior that has appeared since the time of Cæsar. It is possible to be a man of great genius and yet not know how to use the pen. So, because Augereau does not know how to express his ideas on paper, you conceive there are many generals superior to him: I shall be obliged to you to point them out to me. You will tell me, no doubt, of Kleber—I know that he really possesses merit; but his refusal to follow the instructions of government, and acting only according to his own ideas, renders him more dangerous than useful; and the Directory would be very blameable to trust such an arrogant character with the command of an army.

Bernadotte.—You know how much I love and respect Kleber: it was he who gave me the first lessons in grand tactics and fortification. I had the satisfaction of assisting under his orders at the battle of Fleuris, the siege of Maestricht, and an hundred less important operations. I consider him as the first general of his age. (Buonaparte laughed). This is the opinion of Jourdan, and all the generals of the army of the Rhine. Pichegru and Moreau hold him in the highest esteem. Kleber's faults have been exaggerated to you. When he allowed himself to change the orders he received from the Committee of Public Safety, it was because circumstances imperiously required it. He refused to acknowledge the superiority
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of the *quill-driver* Alexander; he kept him in his place; and we all owe him the greatest obligation, for not having suffered us to be tyrannized over by the clerk, or rather the Directory's valet. The general to whom, according to my idea, the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse would have come with justice after Kleber, is Beurnonville. At the battle of Jemappe, his intrepidity and skillful manœuvres obtained him the surname of the *French Ajax*. He had already had the chief command of that very army; and it appeared but just to restore him to his command, of which the intrigues of his detractors had succeeded in depriving him in favour of General Hoche. I will observe to you, that to military talents Beurnonville unites superior person, and an air of affability which gains him every one's good will. If you had had the opportunity of knowing that General, you would, I am persuaded, join in opinion with me, respecting him, and would not hesitate in preferring him to Augereau, who is not only described to me as a block-head, but also as a brutal, rude, and drunken character.

Buonaparte.—It appears to me, that the person who has given you such a description of Augereau, is far from being his friend. That General is neither an academician, a coxcomb, nor a monk: these three descriptions of characters are not calculated for the army; and such a person may shine in a college, in a drawing-room, or a cloister, as would cut but a very sorry figure upon a breach, a field of battle, or in a bivouac. I must confess to you, that I never should have expected that General Bernadotte would have given Beurnonville the preference over Augereau. I shall never in all my life forget the report made to the Convention by that General, in which it was asserted "that, during the whole winter campaign from 1792 to 1793, the army of Moselle only lost *the little finger* of one of the horse chasseurs." Whilst reading such a puerility, I could not help exclaiming "Ah, Sir General of the *little finger* (*petit doigt*), you must be but a *little genius* (*petit genie*)." Could any one have such effrontery as thus to deceive the French people? I know these falsehoods flattered the Convention, who were desirous to make it believed that they obtained their victories as though it were by *enchantment*. (*Buonaparte*, with whom I had occasion to speak of the particulars of that

that campaign, requested my testimony in support of what he advanced: I told him that my *free company*, 200 strong on entering on the campaign the 1st of November 1792, was reduced to 140 men when it returned to France on the 1st of February 1793. Of the 60 men lost, two-thirds had been killed or wounded, and the rest had gone to the hospital through sickness. In the night between the 17th and 18th of December, three men died of cold, in the bivouac I occupied upon the heights of Vavren, near Consarbruk. I assured him that the loss of the army, in men destroyed by the enemy's fire, or by sickness, might be estimated at about 4000). That does not surprise me, added Buonaparte; the provisions were of a bad quality, and very often they were even in want of them. I have been informed, that during the three months that campaign lasted, your pretended *Ajax* was only once on horseback; and, what is still worse, he was always seen in a very commodious carriage, with a very pretty mistress. When Beurnonville, in haste to arrive at his head-quarters, met in his way a column of the army, he made it halt; and this modern Hercules, with his Omphale, insulted the misery of the troops by a display of luxury and effeminacy unexampled in the ancient regime. With regard to the conducting of the operations, facts speak so clearly as to dispense with my making any comments. I can hardly find out how he merited the surname of *Ajax*, since General Dumourier, who commanded in chief at Jemappe, in his Memoirs, says, "that the success of the battle was principally owing, 1st, to Colonel Thouvenot; 2dly, to the valet-de-chambre Baptiste; 3dly, to the Duke of Chartres," &c. According to these same Memoirs, it appears that Beurnonville made them wait for him; that he did not attack at the time fixed; and that he fired upon our troops commanded by D'Harville. How then did he merit the high-sounding title of the *French Ajax*? I had, besides, an opportunity of personally knowing Beurnonville during my stay at Paris. I have so fully convinced myself of his inefficiency in military affairs, that if he belonged to my army, I would not trust him even with the command of a division. I would place him in a dépôt of cavalry, to watch over its police, with good adjutants. *If I governed France, I*
 think

think I should employ him as an ambassador: he has the style of manners necessary for a drawing-room, still more so for a great dinner party: he has a deal of chit-chat and effrontery. Provided he is not kept short of money, he would play the part of a great lord wonderfully well. With regard to his bravery, I believe that, *in a case of urgency*, he would risk his person as well as another; but I dare assert, that he would himself agree that he is fitter for the pleasures of court than for the fatigues of war. So much for Beurnonville. Who are the other candidates you pretend to place before Augereau in the command of the army of the Rhine?

If Bernadotte had dared, he would have named himself: he expected that Buonaparte would have been so polite as to offer him an opening. He, who had a long time guessed at Bernadotte's intentions, experienced a malignant pleasure at seeing his embarrassment; and, very far from putting an end to it, as he might and ought to have done, he spoke in a manner to make it believed he had not the least idea of Bernadotte. He spoke of Dessaix, of St. Cyr, of Lefebvre, of Championet, &c. Bernadotte only gave vague replies, like a man who is discontented, but who would only wish to appear absent. In his turn, he asked questions concerning Massena, Joubert, Serrurier, Kilmaine, &c. Buonaparte frankly replied, that Massena was a good general of an advanced guard, but that he required to be under direction; that Joubert possessed the requisite talents to command in chief, and that on that account he had entrusted him with the expedition against the Tyrol; that it would be difficult to find a better officer than Serrurier to command a reserve; that Kilmaine was excellent at the head of a corps of heavy cavalry, &c. He supported his opinions by facts relating to these Generals. At last Bernadotte, despairing to induce him to say any thing on his own score, and tired with hearing him pay the most flattering compliments to his old generals of the army of Italy, changed the conversation, and spoke upon military operations.

During the short peace which took place between France and Austria, Bernadotte was appointed by the Directory, ambassador to Vienna, where he was extremely well received. Soon after his arrival, however, a
circumstance

circumstance occurred, which ultimately proved the source, or at least the ostensible cause, of a new war. The inhabitants of Vienna, encouraged by the Austrian government, had agreed to commemorate, by a grand fête, the arming of the volunteers levied for the war in 1796, when Vienna was particularly menaced by the French army. This measure, during peace, and at a time when the haughty republicans were flushed with their successes, might as well have been dispensed with, as it only tended to revive the jealousies which were known to exist between the two countries. In consequence of this intended fête, Bernadotte, the French minister at the Austrian court, not to be behind-hand, was induced also to celebrate the victories gained by the French armies over the Austrians. Accordingly, during the festival, Bernadotte ordered the French tri-coloured flag to be hoisted at his hotel, which instantly created a general ferment throughout the city. The indignant inhabitants immediately assembled round the hotel of the French ambassador, and demanded, with loud cries, the republican colours to be pulled down. These demands also were accompanied with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!"

A conflict now took place between the two parties. The flag was torn to pieces, and the standard burnt: the populace immediately proceeded to violent extremities; they burst open the gates of the hotel, and demolished every thing they could find.

General Bernadotte, finding himself to be in imminent danger, and that the lives of himself and attendants were seriously threatened, directed his attendants to fire on the populace: the consequence was that many were wounded on the occasion.

It was not until some time after the tumult commenced, that any military force was sent by the government to quell it. This gave great offence to Bernadotte, who had certainly a right to expect every protection, while acting as ambassador of a friendly power. He accordingly, on the following day, sent one of his secretaries with a letter to the Emperor, demanding as a condition of his remaining at Vienna, the following terms: "the dismissal of the minister Thuguet; the punishment of the Mayor of Vienna; the establishment of a privileged

privileged quarter, in the city of Vienna, for the French mission; and, lastly, that the Emperor should repair at his own expence the flag and flag-staff, and the picture of the French arms." These demands were indignantly refused by the Austrian government. General Bernadotte accordingly, notwithstanding pressing solicitations from the Emperor, demanded his passports, and immediately departed for Rastadt.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to say, whether this tumult was actually excited for the purpose of embroiling the two countries; but that it had this immediate effect can scarcely be doubted, when we read the following extract from the French manifesto, as delivered by the Directory to the Councils, stating the reasons of France declaring war against the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany:—

" If, at the first news of this event, the Directory had not had some foundation for seeing in it only the work of two courts eager to revive the war upon the continent; if they could have believed that the Emperor was acquainted with the plot fabricated under his eyes; they would not have hesitated a moment to incite the national vengeance against so outrageous a violation of the state of peace and the rights of nations, which had been so religiously respected by the republic, even in the midst of the most violent storms of the revolution. But it was possible, that the cabinets of London and Petersburg might have prepared and directed, by their agents, a tumult, neither known nor approved by the Emperor. The expressions of regret conveyed, in the first moments after the occurrence, by M. de Coloredo to the ambassador of the republic, and the announced appointment of M. Degelman to Paris, were motives for thinking that the Imperial court would hasten to investigate and punish an attack, whose existence it acknowledged, and of which it feared to appear the accomplice. When it was also known, that the minister, who was accused of having seconded the fury of England and Russia, had resigned his place to the Count de Cobentzel, and that the latter was to proceed to Seltz to make reparation, the Directory could not repent having occasioned these conferences. They shewed themselves less ready to yield to the first impulse of a legitimate resentment, than eager

to remove by mutual explanation every thing that opposed the establishment of the most perfect harmony. Such was their desire to produce conciliation, that the envoy-extraordinary of the republic was definitively instructed to content himself, in reparation for the event at Vienna on the 13th of April, with a simple disavowal, and a declaration that endeavours would be made to discover the guilty. But scarcely had the conferences been opened at Seltz, when the Imperial court altered its tone and its conduct: Baron Degelman did not proceed to Paris; M. de Thuguet returned to the ministry; and the investigation which had been commenced, remained unavailing and ineffectual. The Count de Cobentzel, instead of offering or giving the reparation which was the principal object of his mission, affected to direct the discussion to other points. He concluded by declining all satisfaction, even that with which the republic would have contented herself, when he was convinced that the Directory would not listen to the insinuations by which the court of Vienna wished to render her, in the midst even of peace, an accomplice in the strangest spoliations."

In order to make up this affair, as well as to adjust other differences which had arisen between the two governments, conferences were opened at Seltz, on the Rhine, opposite to Rastadt, between Count Cobentzel on the part of the Emperor, and Baron Neufchateau on the part of the Directory. These conferences, however, came to nothing, and the war once more broke out between the two countries.

Bernadotte, in the mean time, had left Rastadt for Paris, and was appointed by the Directory ambassador to Holland. At first, however, he refused this appointment, as appears by the following letter, which he wrote to the Directory; but he was afterwards prevailed upon to accept it.

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS—The minister for the foreign department has informed me, that you had appointed me minister to the Batavian republic. The advantages offered by such an honourable mission are certainly flattering; and, although far from my country, I should be very much pleased to live among men who know the social benefits; but I am prevented from complying with

with your wishes in that respect, because I am totally displeased with diplomatic functions.

“ I have explained very fully my sentiments, in a dispatch anterior to the affair of Vienna. You know, I was by no means flattered by the embassy to the Emperor of Austria; and that, in obeying, I intended to give the Directory another proof of my devotion to the republic. Were I going to live with the descendants of John de Wit, and De Tromp, the Batavian republic would find in me a sincere admirer of its glory, and a warm partizan of its prosperity. Your knowledge of mankind will not fail to unite in my successor the same zeal, the same purity of intention, and the same eagerness to forward your benevolent views.

“ The approbation that you bestow on my military and diplomatic conduct is respectfully received. Every thing relative to my second career is interesting to me, on account of the errors which several journalists have committed, in the accounts they have given to the public. It affords me pleasure to believe, the time is not far distant, when the policy of the government will permit the French nation to be informed according to the exact truth, &c.”

(Signed) “ J. BERNADOTTE.”

When the war again broke out between France and Austria, Bernadotte was appointed General-in-chief of the army of observation. Soon afterwards, he was ordered to blockade Philipsburg. On this occasion, he sent a summons to the commandant, the Rhingrave of Salm; the language of which cannot be justified, either by the laws of war, or the usage of civilized nations. After imputing the renewal of the war to the cabinet of Vienna, he proceeded to observe—“ I must tell you yet farther, General, I know that your garrison is discontented; that, the officers of it are too wise and enlightened to lavish their blood to gratify the selfishness and caprice of a few arrogant men; and that the soldiers only wait the signal of attack to declare their dissatisfaction. When the inhabitants shall see that their houses are soon to become a prey to the flames, they will presently determine which side to take. The artillery of Landau, which is advancing, will furnish them with what they have long waited for—a sufficient motive

to compel their commandant to deliver up the keys. The terrible example which General Mack has given to all those who lead soldiers to battle against their will, must have afforded you ample matter for alarming reflections. But, without adverting to those considerations, the army under my command has sufficient means to compel the fortress to surrender. I cannot repeat often enough, General, that I will not place a garrison in your fortress *as an enemy*—far from it; I mean *only to hold the place for the German empire*: and I call the world to witness, that I declare, that I will restore Philipsburg to the empire, as soon as the French government shall be satisfied that the empire can defend it against the ambition of the *house of Austria*.

“Should you oblige me to give orders for the assault, I am sure I cannot but succeed, as the number of troops I have with me, and the other means I possess, render it *impossible* I should fail. But the punishment of those who have been the cause of resistance to the French republic, shall be *terrible*; *nor will I restrain the rage* of the soldiers, who will give way to their fury against you.”

To this summons the Rhingrave of Salm made the following reply:—

“GENERAL BERNADOTTE—Your letter, which was brought to me by Adjutant Goudin, is of such a nature as I could not have expected to receive at this moment, when peace is on the point of being signed between the German empire and the French republic. Surely, General, it must be your own opinion, that I should be culpable, were I to deliver up a fortress, the command of which has been entrusted to me by the general-in-chief of the army of the empire. He is not far distant; and the place where the deputies to the congress for the peace of the empire now meet, is still nearer.”

“The orders and instructions which I may receive from those two quarters will regulate my conduct. While in expectation of these orders, which, when I receive, I shall immediately communicate to you, at present I can only act as every man of honour must act in my place.

“The situation of the fortress under my command is not such as you appear to believe; nor do I know of any
discontent

discontent among the garrison. I must, therefore, declare to you, that I will not receive a French garrison into the place, nor commence hostilities, though I will resist any attack. The assailants will be answerable to our contemporaries, and to posterity, for all the calamities which may follow, in consequence of this attack.

“ Auttenheim, near Philipsburg,

2d March 1799.”

Notwithstanding the insidious proposals of Bernadotte to the Rhingrave, and his boasted means of reducing the place, he was nevertheless unable to take it; and, after many fruitless attempts, was obliged to raise the siege altogether.

It is not our intention in this place to give a detail of operations of the French army, as other opportunities for so doing, will offer, in the course of these Memoirs. It is sufficient to observe, that considerable reverses were sustained by them both in Germany and Italy; and it became necessary that the Directory should appoint a war-minister at home, whose knowledge and capacity, if it could not insure success abroad, should at least, prevent a recurrence of disasters, and insure to their armies a reasonable expectation of success. General Bernadotte was an officer eminently qualified to fill this situation. He was accordingly appointed to it by the Directory; and the manifest change which soon appeared in favour of the French armies, was the best comment that could be made as to the fitness of the appointment.

His new situation, however, was not long held by Bernadotte; for, although every exertion of talent was used by him, yet all was not sufficient to answer the expectations of the Directory. He accordingly resigned his office, and retired to a small house in the Fauxbourg de Mousseaux.

During the time he held the situation of war-minister, an anecdote is related of him, which does him great honour. The Duke D'Enghien went secretly to Paris, 1799, for the purpose of promoting the restoration of the Bourbon family. Buonaparte was then in Egypt; and the government, from various causes, had become extremely weak. The Duke D'Enghien made an overture

ture to Bernadotte through a mutual friend, acquainting him with his being at Paris; and offered him the post of Constable of France if he would restore the Bourbons. "I cannot serve their cause," replied Bernadotte; "but, as the descendant of a hero, and as a man who has placed confidence in me, no harm shall happen to him. Let the Duke depart instantly; for his secret may, in three days, be no longer mine." The Duke immediately left Paris without any molestation, and retired to the territory of Baden, where he was soon after seized and shot by order of Buonaparte.

In August 1798, Bernadotte married Mademoiselle Clary, sister to Joseph Buonaparte's wife; and, in the July of the following year, he had a son born to him.

We now come to a memorable period. Buonaparte, after his unsuccessful campaigns in Egypt, having arrived at Paris, several meetings were held at Bernadotte's house, in order to concert measures for the overthrow of the existing government, and to establish Napoleon upon its ruins. Joseph and Lucien Buonaparte were constant visitors; but whether the subject of this Memoir was privy to the actual conspiracy, does not appear. It has been stated by General Sarrazin, who was the particular friend of Bernadotte, that, three days before the 18th Brumaire, Buonaparte, who had settled every thing with the Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred, still lulled Bernadotte with the hope of taking him as a colleague with Sieyes or Roger Ducos. He particularly declared his firm resolution to maintain the republican form of government, and to give a marked preference to all those who had given proofs of attachment to the revolution. General Sarrazin also asserts that General Bernadotte assured him, the following conversation took place on the 18th Brumaire, with Buonaparte.

Buonaparte.—"I can flatter myself at last, my dear Bernadotte, with having succeeded in making a part of the Directory, and the leaders of the two Councils, agree upon the measures to be taken to save the country. The Council of Ancients have nominated me Commander-in-Chief of the 17th division, comprehending the guard of the Directory, and grenadiers of the Legislative Body. I have been obliged to make some alteration in my first plan, that I might not startle the civil party

party by the appearance of a government composed of military men. Sieyes will be Second Consul, and Roger Ducos the Third. As First Consul, I preserve every means of suitably rewarding my fellow-labourers, and of ameliorating in every respect the situation of the army. You may easily guess, that my two colleagues are, properly speaking, only for form-sake, and that I am the real depositary of the supreme authority, which I assure you I will only use to restore peace and prosperity to France. You may be persuaded of my eagerness to do every thing that may be personally agreeable to yourself as well as to your friends. We are going to the Council of Ancients."

General Bernadotte's reply, according to the same authority, was to the following effect:—"This then, traitor, is the result of all your brilliant promises: you wish to destroy the republic, to establish yourself the tyrant of France. You shall not commit this horrible crime, until you have deprived the country of one of its most intrepid defenders.—Be on your guard."

Buonaparte, on this, opened the door of his saloon, in which were assembled more than fifty general and staff officers.

Whatever truth there may be in these statements, it is certain that Bernadotte was soon after reconciled to the new order of things; for we find he very shortly afterwards accepted the office of Councillor of State and of Commander-in-Chief of La Vendée and the coast of Bretagne.

When Buonaparte was elevated to the Imperial diadem, Bernadotte was the first to pay court to the new Emperor. On that occasion he made a most flattering speech, to the following effect:—"I thought for a long time, Sire, that France would not be happy under any other than a republican form of government. To the hearty persuasion of the excellence of this paradox, your Majesty must attribute the conduct I have pursued for more than three years. Enlightened by happy experience, I feel much satisfaction in assuring you that my illusions are entirely dissipated. I beg you to be persuaded of my eagerness to execute any measures that your Majesty may prescribe for the good of the country. I moreover declare to you, as well as to all my friends
here

here present, that I share the sentiments which General Murat has just delivered you in the name of the army, not politically and by word of mouth, but with heart and soul."

For this incense, so agreeable to the Emperor, Bernadotte did not go unrewarded: he was made Marshal of France, and had, besides, the command at Hanover, which he held for a long time. It is but justice to say, that in this command, and in his treatment of the Hanoverians, not only were there no complaints against him; but, on the contrary, he appears to have endeared himself to the inhabitants.

Buonaparte had been for a considerable length of time preparing the most formidable means for the invasion of England; when, on a sudden, his intentions became altered, and the forces he had collected for this purpose were destined for a different scene of action. Ever since the treaty of Luneville, secret preparations had been making by Austria and Russia to renew the contest. But their intentions could not escape the penetrating eye of Buonaparte, who soon foresaw the coalition forming against him. He accordingly reinforced his army in Italy, dismantled his flotilla at Boulogne, and made every preparation for the renewal of the war. The troops under the command of Bernadotte, amounting to 15,000 men, were ordered to leave Hanover, and march to Wurtzburg, where they arrived on the 23d of September 1805, and were joined by 10,000 Bavarians.

The French army, which Buonaparte had collected to carry on this contest, consisted of 140,000 men, and were formed into six divisions. The 1st corps was commanded by Marshal Bernadotte; the 2d, by Marmont; the 3d, by Marshal Davoust; the 4th, by Marshal Soult; the 5th, by Marshal Ney; and the 6th, by Marshal Lannes.

To the division of Marshal Bernadotte was entrusted a most important post in the campaign. Having arrived at Wurtzburg, he was joined by General Marmont and the Bavarians, and immediately commenced his march to the Danube. On the 6th of October he reached Aichstetin, and on the 7th took possession of Ingoldstadt. Whilst the main body of the French army proceeded to Augsburg, Bernadotte, with the left wing, crossed

crossed the Danube at Ingoldstadt, and took up a position at Pfüfferhausen. The intentions of Buonaparte being to cut off General Mack, who was posted at Ulm, he had by these means brought his forces between that place and Vienna. Marshal Bernadotte was now ordered to march to the Inn with a force of 40,000 men, in order to watch the movements of the combined Austrian and Russian forces, whilst Buonaparte himself carried on his operations against Ulm. He accordingly, on the 12th, entered Munich, where he took 800 prisoners. He then immediately crossed the Inn, and continued his march to Brennuau; he afterwards took up a strong position near the Inn, where he could with safety observe the combined Austrian and Russian armies. By these means, Buonaparte was enabled to turn his whole strength against Ulm, which was compelled to surrender to his arms.

Buonaparte now lost no time in following up his successes; and, having determined to advance on Vienna, he, with the main body of his army, effected a passage over the Inn on the 28th of October, near Brennuau. Marshal Bernadotte, with his corps, proceeded to Altenmarkt; and, the whole French army having now crossed the Inn, he was ordered to occupy Saltzburg, in order to intercept the communication between the Archduke Charles, who was posted in the Venetian territory, and the Austro-Russians.

At the battle of Austerlitz, which soon after followed, Bernadotte, whose corps formed the centre of the French army, had a very conspicuous share: but, as we shall have occasion hereafter to describe this battle more fully, it is sufficient to remark, that he behaved extremely well; and, as a reward for his services, he was soon after created Prince of Ponte Corvo, and a grant of the duchy bestowed upon him. The battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the Austrians, was followed up by a treaty of peace between France and Austria, the conditions of which were extremely ruinous to the latter power.

In the following year, 1806, Prussia having resolved upon war with France, the fourth coalition, as it was called, was now about to come into action. In the middle of September, the Prussian troops marched in the greatest haste from Berlin: they entered Saxony, and

advanced to the frontiers of the Confederation of the Rhine. In this new war Bernadotte was again entrusted with an important command, having one of the centre divisions of Buonaparte's army; and, at the battle of Jena, he greatly distinguished himself. After this battle, which proved so disastrous to the Prussian monarchy, Marshal Bernadotte, in his pursuit of the discomfited enemy, fell in with Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was advancing from Custring with the Prussian reserve: here a short action ensued, which terminated in the total defeat of the Prince. In this affair, the last entire corps of the Prussian army was destroyed; their loss in prisoners being 5000 men, besides thirty-five pieces of cannon. In the pursuit of the gallant Blucher, and at the storming of Lubeck, Bernadotte had a very conspicuous share. His conduct on the latter occasion appears to have drawn the particular praises of Buonaparte, who, in his order of the day of the 9th of November, says, "The Emperor signifies his satisfaction to the Grand Duke of Berg to the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Marshal Bernadotte), to Marshal Soult, and to the troops under their command, at their brilliant conduct at Lubeck, and for the activity they evinced in pursuing the enemy." At the battle of Pultusk, Bernadotte also greatly distinguished himself. After this battle his corps was stationed at Elbing, where there were immense magazines filled with all manner of stores and provisions. He was now ordered, in conjunction with Marshal Ney, to surprise Koningsberg, with its valuable magazines; but the rapid advance of the Russian army entirely frustrated their design.

On the 24th of January, Marshal Ney abandoned his posts on the Alla, and retired behind the Dribentz, where he joined Murat. Marshal Bernadotte also retired from Elbing to Mohringen, where he established his head-quarters. General Benningsen, hearing of these movements, determined to march against Marshal Bernadotte. On the 24th he reached Arensdorf, and on the 25th Liebstadt. On the same day the Russian General Markow, with a division of the corps under the command of Counts Pahlen and Galitzen, commenced an attack upon the village of Georgeuthal, ten English miles in front of Mohringen, on a very formidable position, occupied by the whole corps of the French, and finally supported

ported by General Dupont's division. After a warm action, the Russians were repulsed ; but, receiving a reinforcement, the battle was renewed, and they recovered their lost ground. During this action, Prince Michael Dolgorucky, with a regiment of dragoons, got into the rear of the French, and made his way to head-quarters, without being discovered, and carried off Marshal Bernadotte's equipage, plate, and some ladies. Sir Robert Wilson, in his *Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland*, says, that, " in General Bernadotte's baggage, the money levied on the town of Elbing for his own private use, 10,000 ducats, exclusive of 2500 for his staff, was recovered ; and there were found, to a great amount, various pieces of plate, candlesticks, &c. bearing the arms of almost all the states of Germany. The Marshal's servant was so ashamed of this plunder, that he would not claim it when purposely desired to point out his master's property ; but, as the articles were taken in the Marshal's own quarter, and in his trunks, and were in such quantity, they must have been there with his knowledge."

In answer to this charge, General Sarrazin makes the following observations:—" It is published, in a very estimable work, that there were found among his effects, several pieces of plate, with the arms of the German princes ; and it was even said, that his servant was so ashamed of this pillage, that he dared not say it was the property of the General. The particulars of the anecdote suffice to prove its inconsistency. Where is the servant who would blush to claim what his master was not ashamed of preserving for his own use ? At this period, Bernadotte had a considerable fortune, and Buonaparte anticipated all his desires in money. How could he have decided, for some silver forks and candlesticks, to risk a rupture with Buonaparte ; who, from the beginning of the campaign in 1805, had, in the most peremptory manner, prohibited any individual in the army, from the marshal to the drummer, to raise the smallest contribution ? Besides, Bernadotte has always been so zealous in supporting the interests of the inhabitants, that there is not the least probability that these things, pretended to have been his, were so in reality : it is far more probable that the Cossacks, under pretence of taking Bernadotte's baggage, had seized the plate be-
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longing

longing to the castle in which this General was quartered. The unequivocal proofs of delicacy and probity which General Bernadotte has given throughout the whole of his military career, leave no doubt of his entire innocence in this respect. As to what he received from the commander-in-chief, under the title of encouragement, we will call to mind what Marshal Villars wrote to Louis the Fourteenth, who had remarked to him, that his exactions were complained of:—‘The first part, Sire,’ said the conqueror of Denain, ‘is for your Majesty’s treasury, and serves to pay the troops; the second is to assist my officers who are in want; and the third is to *fatten my vaux*.’ It was the name of a very fine estate belonging to the Marshal, the pronunciation of which was the same as *veau* (calf), which made the pun upon the words. The august monarch, who knew that *war must be maintained by war*, laughed heartily at his general’s pun, and approved of it by saying no more on the subject.”

Notwithstanding the French claimed the advantage at the battle of Mohringen, yet it appears that Bernadotte and Ney were soon after compelled to make their retreat; by which means the Russian general Benningsen was enabled to concentrate his forces in the town and environs of Mohringen, whilst the right of his army rested on the Vistula.

After the battle of Eylau, the victory of which was claimed by both parties, Marshal Bernadotte’s corps lay at Prussian Holland and Braunsberg, against which a Russian detachment marched; upon which Bernadotte immediately detached General Dupont to attack the enemy. The Russians were immediately repulsed with great loss, and driven across the Passarge.

Soon after this affair, Marshal Bernadotte, having received a slight wound, was obliged to quit the army for the remainder of the campaign; and the command of his corps was given to Marshal Victor.

The treaty of Tilsit having now put an end to the military operations, Marshal Bernadotte with his troops was stationed in Denmark; whither also a force of 16,000 Spaniards, under the command of the Marquis of Romana, was sent. Here he was accused severely by Buonaparte of negligence, for having let this force escape.

escape. As the circumstances connected with this event are rather of a curious nature, we deem it sufficiently within our plan to notice them.

It appears, that while the Marquis de la Romana and his troops were in Denmark, they were kept in profound ignorance of the situation of their native country, and of the glorious events which had taken place there, notwithstanding the various attempts which had been made on the part of the British naval commander, Sir Richard Keates, to communicate the tidings to him, and to concert the means of escape for himself and troops. At length an enterprising gentleman was found, an ecclesiastic, in whose honour, knowledge, and good sense, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a trader of the humblest description, went, by way of Heligoland, to the place where the Marquis and his troops were confined, having encountered such difficulties in his progress as required the utmost caution, patience, and fortitude. At length he overcame all obstacles; and, having ascertained the person of the Marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. This agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the Marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention; and having done so, he apologized, as if ignorant of his rank, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The Marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed that he was speaking to a smuggler. The priest, however, persevered in recommending his coffee; and, in the course of the conversation, took an opportunity of intimating that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman. "We'll soon see to that," said the Marquis; and then asked him if he could speak Latin. The priest answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were intended to deceive all who might observe them. The Marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain; of the assistance which the British government had rendered, and of its readiness to adopt any measure that was practicable, to effect the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen

men in resisting the vile attempts of France to enslave them.

Having thus afforded every information to the Marquis, the next difficulty was how to bring off the troops without exciting the suspicion of Bernadotte, and the French. The main body of them were with the commander-in-chief, upon the island of Funen; some were in Jutland, some in Zealand, and a small body in Langland. The British admiral proposed that those in Funen should secure themselves in a peninsula on the north side of the island; from which, if necessary, they might be removed to the small island of Romsol. The Danish gun-boats could be rendered inactive, if the Spanish general had it in his power, and should think it proper, to seize on the town and port of Nyborg; but this measure the admiral conceived might endanger the safety of the troops in Zealand and Jutland, by inducing the Danes to act hostilely when they might otherwise be disposed to permit the quiet removal of the Spaniards. Little hope was indulged that any negotiation for their peaceable departure would be successful; but, immediately after the movements should have commenced, a declaration of the peaceable and unoffending object in view might then be advantageous. The troops in Zealand, it was proposed, should attempt to force their way to the peninsula near Corsoer, where it seemed likely that they might be able to defend the isthmus till they could be removed to the neighbouring island of Sproe. Those at Frederisca in Jutland, were to seize vessels, and endeavour to unite with their countrymen at Funen; but, if the troops in Langland were strong enough to feel themselves in safety, it was deemed better to send all the others there, from whence they might be transported at leisure.

The suspicions of Bernadotte and the Danish government were, however, awakened, and a premature execution of the plan becoming necessary, Romana took possession of Nyborg; whereupon the British admiral dispatched a letter to the Governor, informing him, that notwithstanding the state of war between England and Denmark, it was his wish to abstain from every hostile act, provided the embarkation of the Spaniards was not opposed. While this was going on, he must necessarily co-operate

co-operate with those troops, and, consequently, often communicate with the town of Nyborg; but the strictest orders had been given to all, to observe the utmost civility towards the inhabitants. If, however, the Spaniards were opposed, he must take measures that might occasion the destruction of the town. The Danish garrison had yielded to circumstances; but an armed brig and a cutter, which were moored across the harbour, rejected all the pacific offers. Such small boats as could be collected were sent against them, and they were taken. The Admiral now addressed a second letter to the Governor, acquainting him that as his entrance into the harbour had been opposed, he was not bound to respect the property of the inhabitants. The Spanish General had occasion for some of the small craft in the port; unless the masters and crews would assist in navigating them, it might not be in his power to secure them from injury; if they would, he pledged himself, after the short service for which they were required was ended, not only to secure them from injury by every means in his power, but also to grant them passports to return in safety. The artillery, baggage, stores, &c. were accordingly embarked with the troops, and landed upon Langland; and a convention was made between Romana and the Governor of that island, in which the latter agreed to supply the Spaniards with provisions, they on their part abstaining from hostilities. Above 1000 troops from Jutland effected their escape in the manner proposed, and joined their countrymen while at sea. Another thousand had got to Langland. One regiment in Jutland was too distant, and too unfavourably situated, to escape; and two in Zealand, after having fired on the French General who commanded them, were overpowered and disarmed.

Notwithstanding the blame that Bernadotte incurred in this affair with the Emperor Napoleon, he soon after found means to be reconciled to the latter; who, upon the breaking out of the war with Austria in 1809, readily availed himself of Marshal Bernadotte's military talents, giving him the command of the Saxon army. Here he greatly distinguished himself, and completely deceived General Bellegarde, and by his operations entirely prevented that general from affording any assistance to the army of the Archduke Charles.

At the battle of Wagram, however, he fell into great disgrace; for, at the attack on this place, on the night of the 5th of July, a great confusion took place in his division, and for a considerable time the columns fired upon each other, occasioning great slaughter. Having by this means incurred the resentment of Napoleon, he in consequence retired to France, under pretence of ill health. After this, it appears, he was again employed by Buonaparte, to command the French army at Antwerp, during the British expedition to Walcheren; but, for what reason it does not appear, he was suspended in his command by Marshal Bessieres. This was the last military command which he held under Buonaparte.

A new scene was now opening to his view, well calculated to draw forth all his energies, and to give full scope to those talents which he undoubtedly possesses in an eminent degree: this was his election of Crown Prince of Sweden. Before, however, we notice this proceeding, it will be necessary, for a proper understanding of the subject, to take a retrospective view of the causes which led to it; and, in order to this, we shall give a slight historical sketch of that country for a few years preceding the period we have now come to.

Gustavus the Third, father of the present dethroned king, having summoned a diet to meet at Geflé, a solitary place on the Bothnic Gulf, near seventy miles from Stockholm, it was imagined by some that this diet might assert the national freedom against a despotic monarch; but Gustavus had guarded against any such design, by his choice of the spot, and surrounding it with his mercenary troops. He found some difficulty in gaining his only intention, that of raising money, and was obliged to be satisfied with a part of his demand.

The king, on the diet being dissolved, returned to Stockholm, where, at a masquerade in the opera-house, on the night of the 16th of March 1792, he was shot with a pistol by an assassin, named Ankerstroem, in consequence of a conspiracy among some of the discontented nobles; and, having survived in great pain till the 29th of that month, he expired, in the 45th year of his age.

The reflection of dying ingloriously by the hand of a vile assassin, is said to have embittered the last moments
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of this king's life. He shewed the same noble and brave spirit on his death-bed, as he had done before his enemies during his life-time. He retained all his mental faculties to the last, which enabled him so well to arrange the future government of his country.

The wounds at first indicated the most promising appearance of recovery, and the slugs were all extracted; but some rusty pieces of iron had penetrated so far into the body, as to render any surgical operation immediate death. The presence of mind shewn by Gustavus during his illness was very great. While he waited for the arrival of his surgeons, in an apartment adjoining to the saloon of the opera-house, several of the foreign ministers presented themselves, to whom he said, "I have given orders, gentlemen, that the gates of the city shall be shut. You will therefore not take it ill, if you should be unable to send couriers to your courts until after three days. Your advices will then be more certain, since it will be probably known whether I can survive or not." His conversation then related to the effects which the accident might produce in Europe; and the love of fame, which was always his predominant passion, was perceptible in his remarks.

On ascertaining that he was not likely to survive, he settled all his affairs with the greatest composure imaginable. He sent for his son, the Prince-Royal, and addressed a speech to him on the nature of good government, in a manner so truly affecting, that all who were present shed tears. At eight o'clock, on the morning of his death, he received the sacrament. The queen had taken leave of him the evening before; and, at half-past ten, he died in great agonies.

The Prince-Royal, the present unfortunate exile, being fourteen years of age, was immediately (March 29, 1792) proclaimed King, by the name of Gustavus Adolphus IV.; and the Duke of Sudermania, the present king, his uncle, and brother to the late king, in compliance with his Majesty's will, was declared sole Regent, and guardian of the young sovereign, till he should attain his majority, which was fixed at the age of eighteen.

In 1796 Gustavus assumed the reins of government, and soon began to evince that greatness of mind, and firmness of character, that has astonished all Europe.

The primary object of his attention was the finances, which were in a miserable situation, from the munificence of his father, who was fond of expence, and had engaged in many undertakings far beyond the ability of a country so poor as Sweden. Added to this, his injudicious, and extremely unfortunate, war with Russia, exhausted the exchequer, and involved the country in debt. To remedy these evils was the first attempt of the young king, who, besides exercising a strict economy, endeavoured to cultivate peace with his neighbours: he took no share in the continental wars occasioned by the French revolution; nor was it till the year 1801, that any circumstance occurred in the history of Sweden, worthy the notice of the historian; at which period he joined the Northern Confederacy, formed between the powers of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, against the commerce of England. Opportunity did not offer for Gustavus to take an active part in the confederacy; but when he received information from Sir Hyde Parker of the armistice concluded between the courts of London and Copenhagen, and was required to give an explicit answer, relative to his intention of adhering to, or abandoning, the hostile measures he had taken in conjunction with the two other northern powers, he returned for answer, that he would not fail to fulfil the engagements entered into with his allies, but that he would listen to any equitable proposals that might be made by deputies authorized to regulate the matter in dispute, which was soon after amicably adjusted.

The ambitious designs and haughty conduct of the French government, for a considerable time subsequent to the renewal of the war between that country and England, had been viewed with great jealousy by the great powers of the north of Europe, till at length, after considerable deliberation, a coalition was formed between the courts of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, in 1807, against France. The result of this attempt to rescue Europe from the grasp of an usurper, is too well known to need repetition here, except as to the conduct evinced by Gustavus Adolphus, who entered warmly into the coalition, and published a spirited manifesto, in which he severely animadverted upon the general conduct of the French Emperor, which is said to have given that
personage

personage great offence. After the unfortunate battle of Jena, peace was concluded between all the contending nations except Sweden, whose monarch proudly disdained every overture for that purpose; the result of which was the loss of all Pomerania and the island of Rugen: still, however, he continued firm to his principles, resolutely determining rather to perish in the contest than submit to the terms proposed to him by Buonaparte. After the termination of the war above mentioned, a sudden change of conduct was manifested by the Emperor of Russia, who, from being an avowed enemy, suddenly became an ally of the French government, and acted directly under its influence.

Actuated, no doubt, by a zeal resulting from the motives which induced him to form this alliance, the Emperor Alexander soon began to manifest a spirit of hostility towards Sweden; to which, no doubt, he was instigated by the turbulent spirit of Buonaparte, who, besides his personal pique against Gustavus, had publicly declared, that all the powers of Europe must either enter into an alliance with, or declare their enmity to his government, as no neutrals would hereafter be suffered.

War being declared between Russia and Sweden in the spring of 1808, a Russian army entered Finland in March, where, meeting with little opposition, it committed great devastation. On the 27th of April, a battle took place between the two armies, which terminated in favour of the Swedes: but this was only a partial gleam of success; the Russians recovering during the summer, over-ran nearly all the province, and at the close of the campaign were in possession of Wasa, Carlby, and most of the other towns on the Bothnian Gulf.

The court of Denmark, being, like that of Petersburg, under the influence of France, had, about the same time, declared war against Sweden, whose troops at first made a successful entrance into Norway, but ultimately were obliged to retreat. In order to assist Gustavus, the British government sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of Sir John Moore; but, owing to a misunderstanding between that General and the Swedish monarch, they returned home without effecting any thing.

During the succeeding winter, the King of Sweden

continued to send reinforcements to his armies; but no advantage of any importance was gained. He still, however, continued obstinately bent upon the prosecution of the war, notwithstanding that, in the spring of 1809, the Russians were fast approaching Tornea, the capture of which would have introduced them into the heart of Sweden. This conduct, at length, raised great discontent among the people; and the army serving against Norway revolted.

On the 9th of March, the King, being informed of the insurrection, and of the advance of the insurgents, dispatched a courier to the western army, with orders to remove Baron Cederstrom from the command. This courier was, however, prevented from proceeding by Major-General Adlercreutz, and the King was told that all was quiet. His Majesty, in a day or two after, discovered that this report was fallacious, and determined immediately to proceed against the insurgents in person, at the head of his guards. On the 13th, in the morning, his Majesty left his apartment to go down to the parade in front of the palace, with an intention of announcing this determination to the guards, and calling upon them to follow him: but, while he was descending the great staircase, General Adlercreutz, Colonel Milin, and some others, advanced to meet him, as if through compliment; and having surrounded him closely, General Adlercreutz addressed him, and said, that as all possible means had been tried in vain to induce him to adopt councils consistent with the exigencies of the times, it had become necessary to have recourse to constraint. The King, surprised, but not deprived of his usual courage, said coolly, "What do you mean? Am I arrested?" All around him said, "Yes." The King, upon this, drew his sword, and attempted to run Adlercreutz through the body, but was prevented. One of the conspirators coming behind, seized his Majesty round the body, while the others rushed in on every side, overpowered, and disarmed him. In effecting this, however, the foremost, Count Snolsky, received a wound in his hand from his Majesty's sword. The King, though overwhelmed by force, still preserved the firmness of his character unaltered, declaring that it was in vain to attempt to controul him by violence, and that his sentiments and principles would

would ever remain the same. In the night his Majesty was conveyed to the castle of Drottningholm.

The Duke of Sudermania was now appointed Regent; and a meeting of the States of the kingdom was convened, which met at Stockholm on the 9th of May, when a document was produced by the Prince Regent, called the Act of Abdication, said to have been voluntarily made by the late King on the 29th of March: after which, at the representation of one of the nobles, who in a pathetic manner addressed the assembly, they renounced all allegiance and obedience to the person and authority of Gustavus IV. and declared him and his issue, now and for ever, deprived of the crown and government of Sweden. Upon this, the Regent addressed the Diet, assuring them that, until a successor was appointed, he would govern impartially, according to the existing laws. After considerable deliberation, at length (on the 6th of June) he was proclaimed King, by the unanimous voice of the States and people, with the title of Charles XIII. On the 27th he was crowned King; and on the 1st of July, the oath of allegiance was taken in the great square, near the statue of Gustavus III. by the representatives of the States.

A short time previous to this, proposals for peace were made to the Russian government; but they were uniformly rejected, upon the ground that Sweden was without an executive government. The accession of Charles removed these obstructions; and soon afterwards a treaty of peace was concluded, by which Sweden agreed to give up to Russia the whole of Finland, together with all the islands on its coast in the Baltic, which have since been formally annexed to Russia, and now compose a part of that extensive empire.

Being without issue, Charles, with the concurrence of the states, elected the reigning Prince of Oldenburgh, Crown Prince of Sweden.

The balance of power on the continent having been thrown, by the humiliation of Russia and Prussia in 1807, and of Austria in 1809, into the hands of the French ruler, his public avowals and decrees with regard to neutrals, &c. operated in such a way as to give him (by means of his emissaries and intrigues) a complete ascendancy at the court of Stockholm; and the Swedish government,

government, at the close of 1809, were induced to join the northern coalition against Great Britain. The designs of the French ruler, however, did not end here. The Crown Prince, who is said to have entertained ideas repugnant to the dispositions of the court, *died suddenly*, on the 29th of May 1810.

After his death, four candidates offered themselves for the high honour of Crown Prince; *viz.* the eldest son of Gustavus IV.; the Prince of Holstein, eldest brother of the Prince of Augustenburg; the King of Denmark; and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, the present subject of our Memoirs, who was generally considered as the candidate favoured by Buonaparte, and who, on that account, was most likely to gain the suffrages of the States of Sweden.

The States having assembled at Orebro, for the purpose of the election, the present King, on the 18th of August, proposed Marshal Bernadotte as his successor to the throne. His Majesty observed in his speech, "that he perceived with pleasure that the voice of his people, equally aware of the necessity speedily to choose a successor to the Swedish throne, loudly and unanimously declared in favour of the Prince of Ponte Corvo.

"Brilliant exploits have illustrated his name as a warrior, at the same time that eminent talents mark him one of the most skilful statesmen of our age. Universally admired for the probity of his character, and the mildness of his temper, he found opportunities, even in the midst of the misfortunes of war, to shew his attachment to the Swedish nation, by the kind and friendly manner in which he treated the Swedish officers and soldiers whom the chance of war subjected to his power. All these circumstances and considerations could not but fix his Majesty's attention, and determine his resolution, when the question was, to propose a successor to the Swedish throne. Yet his Majesty has not failed to take on this important question the sense of the States of the empire; and, at the secret committee of the council of state, a large majority of the former, and the unanimous opinions of the latter, perfectly coincided with his sentiments on this point.

"His Majesty thinks, that by confiding the future destinies of Sweden to the Prince of Ponte Corvo, his well-earned military fame, while on the one hand it secures

secures the independence of the state, will on the other hand render it superfluous for him to engage in fresh wars; that his strong mind, tutored by long experience, will maintain national tranquillity and order, and secure to our faithful subjects a long and undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings of peace; and, lastly, that his son will remove in future time that uncertainty of succession to the throne, which some late lamentable events have rendered still more important to this country. From all these considerations, his Majesty feels obliged to propose to the assembled States of the empire his Serene Highness Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, as Crown Prince of Sweden, and his Majesty's successor to the throne of Sweden."

The States-General having therefore proceeded to take into their consideration this momentous subject, without hesitation adopted the proposition of the King, declaring, "That, judging it to be their duty to prevent and avert the danger to the independence and tranquillity of the kingdom, as well as to the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, which might result from a vacancy of the throne, and a consequent election; exercising, moreover, the power renewed to them by the constitution of the last year, of electing, in such a case, a new dynasty, and considering that the high and mighty Prince and Lord, Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was endowed with virtues and qualities which gave them a well-founded hope of enjoying, under his reign, the fruits of a legal, energetic, and beneficent government, voluntarily elected him by free and unanimous suffrage for themselves and their descendants; under condition, however, that, before his arrival on the Swedish territory, he should embrace the evangelical Lutheran religion, and sign the conditions which they should draw up."

All things being therefore settled, the following act of election passed the Diet.

"We the undersigned, States-General of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, bishops, representatives of the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants, assembled in the Extraordinary Diet at Orebro, make known, that his Royal Highness Prince Charles Augustus, of Schleswig Holstein Augustenburg, elected Prince-Royal of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, being deceased
without

without heirs male; and judging that it is our duty to prevent and to avert the danger to the independence and tranquillity of the kingdom, as well as to the rights and privileges of its inhabitants, which might result from a vacancy of the throne, and a consequent election; exercising, at the same time, the power which is reserved to us by the ninety-fourth article of the constitution of the 6th of June 1809, of electing in such a case a new dynasty;—for these reasons, and considering that the high and mighty Prince and Lord, Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, is endowed with virtues and qualities, which give us the well-founded hope of enjoying, under the reign of that prince, a good administration and prosperity, the fruits of a legal, energetic, and beneficent government: we, the States-General of Sweden, upon the proposition of our august King now reigning, under condition that the said Prince and Lord, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, have, before his arrival on the Swedish territory, embraced the evangelical Lutheran religion, and signed the conditions drawn up by us, have voluntarily elected, by free and unanimous suffrage, for ourselves and our descendants, the high and mighty Prince Jean Baptiste Julien Bernadotte Prince of Ponte Corvo, to the dignity of Prince Royal of Sweden, to reign in Sweden, and its dependencies, after the decease of our present august sovereign (whose days may the Almighty prolong!) to be crowned king of Sweden, and receive the oath of fidelity; in short, to govern the kingdom according to the literal sense of the constitution of the 6th of June 1809, and of the other laws in force, as well fundamental as general and special, the whole conformable to the answers which his Royal Highness shall now give, and afterwards at his accession to the throne. We also confer on the legitimate male descendants of his Royal Highness, the right of filling the throne of Sweden, in the order and manner which are literally prescribed in the law of succession which we have established. We, the States-General of Sweden, have, in consequence, confirmed the present act of election, by the signature of our names, and affixing our seals.—Done at Orebro this 21st day of August, in the year of the Christian æra 1810.

Bernadotte having been thus elected Crown Prince of Sweden,

Sweden, and successor to the crown, by the unanimous suffrages of the States, in a manner the most flattering to his feelings, immediately on the receipt of this gratifying intelligence, addressed the following letter to the King:—

“SIRE—I will not attempt to represent to your Majesty the feelings by which I was pervaded, when I understood that a nation, highly celebrated in the annals of the world, had thought fit to direct their attention towards a military character, who owes every thing to the affection of his country. It will be equally difficult for me to express my gratitude and astonishment at the wonderful magnanimity with which your Majesty presented, as your successor, a person bound to you by no ties. The more your Majesty has endeavoured to accomplish this object for the Swedish people, the more infinite is my gratitude. I do not conceal from myself the extent nor difficulty of my duties; but if I can trust to my own heart, I shall fulfil them. There never existed in the soul of man a more powerful spring of action, and never was there a happier opportunity presented for him, to dedicate his existence to the welfare of a nation. As soon as your Majesty’s letter was delivered to me by the Count Morner, I hastened to forward it to his Majesty the Emperor and King. He was pleased completely to crown his goodness towards me, by authorizing me to become the adopted son of your Majesty. According to what you have been pleased to address me, I shall hasten my departure, to lay at your Majesty’s feet my grateful homage, and to make your Majesty the depositor of my oath. To this day I have placed my whole fame and character on serving my country; but France will, I venture to flatter myself, assist me in my exertions for the benefit of Sweden. She cannot, without emotion, see one of her children destined, by the voice of a magnanimous people, to govern a kingdom which has been long numbered among her allies.

“I am with profound respect, SIRE,

“Your most devoted and obedient Servant,

“J. BERNADOTTE.”

On his landing in Sweden, the Crown Prince addressed another letter to the King, to the following effect:—

“SIRE—Conscious that the repeated honours done me, not only by your Majesty, but by the Swedish nation, can never be recompensed, I cannot but labour under great difficulty in the expression of gratitude I feel to so noble a king of so noble a nation. Your Majesty, and the people of Sweden, may rest fully assured that their interests and welfare shall ever be nearest my heart, and that I will rather sacrifice that life, which they have deemed worthy of such distinction, than suffer them to be injured or encroached upon. It could not be without some degree of pain and reluctance that I accepted the high dignity of being made Crown Prince of Sweden, aware as I am of my incapacity, born and bred a soldier, to perform the arduous and important duties of that station. The honours with which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to invest me, shall never be sullied by the wearer; and it shall be my constant study to add new lustre to their brightness.

“Feeling myself, as I have already observed, wholly incompetent to express my gratitude, I have the great honour to be your Majesty’s most humble, devoted, and affectionate, &c.”

Being now amongst that people who had unanimously chosen him for their future sovereign, his policy as well as his duty equally required him to use every means to gain their love and affection. His military fame and known good qualities had already done much in his favour; but, not to trust to these alone, he made use of every art to obtain popularity. He adopted the Lutheran tenets of the Swedish church; and, as many of the estates belonging to the Swedes in Pomerania had been given to French officers, he purchased them with his own private fortune, and restored them to the owners; besides which, he advanced the government the sum of £300,000 by way of loan, charging five per cent interest. This, whilst it shewed his extreme wealth, failed not to gain him the universal favour of the people. His installation to his new office took place on the 1st of November, in presence of the Diet, on which occasion he made the following address to the King:—

“Sire!—In appearing this day before the throne of your Majesty, surrounded by the States-General of the realm, my first duty, as it is the first wish of my heart,
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is to lay at your feet the public homage of the sacred and inviolable sentiments which, for life, attach me to your Majesty. I pay this homage to my King, Sire; but I also pay it to the person of a Prince, who, long before he mounted the throne, had acquired, by his virtues, the confidence and love of the nation. In difficult circumstances the state has always had recourse to your Majesty: twice the throne was vacant, and twice your Majesty performed the painful duties of royalty, without any other interest than the public weal. But all at once broke forth one of those revolutions which Heaven appears sometimes to permit, as a lesson to princes, and the nation conjured your Majesty to place yourself on that very throne which you had so long defended. I could never have foreseen that I should one day be associated to destinies so glorious; and that your Majesty, after having deigned to fix upon me the suffrages of your people, would at last crown so many favours by adopting me for your son. A title so dear fills my soul with an ambition the most noble! What am I not bound to do, to merit, to support that illustrious name which your Majesty has this day bestowed upon me? It is not without great distrust of my own powers, that I have accepted a task at once so honourable and so difficult. If I have been able to resolve upon it, it was only from thinking that I should follow in every thing the counsels of your Majesty, and that near you I should be instructed in the great art of reigning. God grant, Sire, that I may long enjoy your lessons! God grant that the youthful mind of my son may be modelled after your's, and be penetrated with the great examples which your Majesty presents to his descendants!

“ Messieurs the Deputies of the Nobility!—Called to be the first defender of the throne and of the state, I trust that you will second me in that noble office. You know, Gentlemen, that primitive nobility was the reward of great services performed to the country; and what obligations are not they under to the state who enjoy by birth the rewards merited by their ancestors? The sacrifice of their life on every occasion is the least of their duties: it is only by giving an example of perfect disinterestedness, by an entire submission to the King and to the laws; it is only, in short, by living without re-

proach, that the nobility of your ancestors is really to be preserved.

“ Gentlemen, Members of the Clergy!—The sublime morality of the gospel, which it is your duty to preach, should serve as a guide to all men; it contains a lesson for kings and people. I shall with pleasure avail myself of your information, and my heart will be grateful for the good that you do in diffusing, like good pastors, the precepts and the succours of the religion of Jesus Christ.

“ Gentlemen Burgesses!—Industry, arts, and commerce, insure the prosperity of a state, as they increase the happiness of families in a free nation, and under a just government: genius and talents lead to every thing, and those who distinguish themselves in your order have great claims to the esteem of the sovereign.

And you, brave Swedish Peasants!—I have every where heard proclaimed the qualities which distinguish you, and I see with a pleasing emotion the particular consideration which your country grants to you. What, are not they highly worthy of those distinctions, whose arms alternately support and defend the country? Continue to honour by your labour and your virtues the useful and respectable order that you form in the state. Your King watches like a father over your dearest interests; his Majesty will permit me to participate in his tender solicitude.

“ It is, however; to you all, faithful representatives of the Swedish nation, that I address myself. The King deigned to propose me as successor to the throne; you confirmed that choice by an election free and unanimous; and his Majesty this day indissolubly binds the ties which already attach me to you. So many favours, such esteem and confidence, impose on me the greatest obligations; I feel them sensibly, and am firmly resolved to fulfil them. Bred in camps, I bring you a frank and loyal soul, an absolute devotedness to the King my august father, an ardent desire to do every thing for the happiness of my new country. With such intentions, I hope to do good. Sound policy, that alone which the laws of God authorize, must have for its bases justice and truth: such are the principles of the King—they shall also be mine. I have beheld war close at hand; I know all its ravages: there is no conquest which can
console

console a country for the blood of its children, shed in a foreign land. I have seen the great Emperor of the French, so often crowned with laurels of victory, surrounded by his invincible armies, sigh after the olive of peace. Yes, Gentlemen, peace is the alone glorious object of a wise and enlightened government. It is not the extent of a state which constitutes its force and independence; it is its laws, its industry, its commerce, and, above all, its national spirit. Sweden, it is true, has sustained great losses; but the honour of the Swedish name has not suffered the least attain. Let us submit, Gentlemen, to the decrees of Providence; and let us recollect that it has left us a soil sufficient to supply our wants, and iron to defend it."

The situation of the Crown Prince of Sweden was now become one of extreme difficulty: the interests of Sweden required that she should remain at peace with Great Britain; but the dictates of Buonaparte absolutely forced her into war. The Swedish government had for a long time used temporising measures, in hopes that the known poverty and inability of the country to carry on war would have had due weight with the stern and unbending disposition of Napoleon; but nothing short of an absolute declaration of war against England would satisfy the policy of the French Emperor.

It may be amusing to our readers to insert here the particulars of an interview which the Swedish minister at Paris, the Baron de Lagerbjelke, had with Buonaparte. It not only shews the violence of his temper, but also proves how impossible it was for the subject of this Memoir to remain neutral. The Baron, in his dispatches to the Swedish court, says—

"Notwithstanding all the personal prejudices of which I had just been the object, it would have been easy for me to have prepared myself against a scene but little agreeable. The nature of my conferences with the Duke of Cadore—the precipitate departure of M. de Tchernicheff—the catastrophe with which Switzerland saw herself threatened on commercial accounts—the advantages gained in Portugal, by which it was no doubt intended to profit, to bear down the English on all points at once—all these circumstances united, had given me sufficient insight to judge what the object
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of the audience would be; but I acknowledge that I did not expect so violent an explosion. I had never beheld the Emperor in anger; but he was so at this time, to a point which surpasses all imagination.

"I was introduced a little after nine o'clock in the morning. I found the Duke de Cadore with the Emperor; and the presence of this third person caused me at first to suppose that I had been called to hear an official declaration, but that I should not be permitted to attend the discussion. I nevertheless resolved to reply on every occasion where I could introduce a word.

"It is impossible for me to render your Majesty an account of all that the Emperor said during the space of at least an hour and a quarter, because his agitation was so great, his discourse so broken, his repetitions so frequent, that it was extremely difficult to remember all. I began by presenting your Majesty's letter. 'Do you know,' said the Emperor 'what is the subject of this letter?' I explained it, adding a compliment. Without making any reply thereto, the Emperor went on. (Every break in the Emperor's discourse will sufficiently explain to your Majesty the nature of the short replies which I endeavoured to make in the intervals.) 'Oh, ho! Monsieur Le Baron, do they at length cease to believe in Sweden, that I am merely a dupe? Do they think that I can accommodate myself to this mixed or half state of things?—Oh! give me no sentiments! it is from facts that we draw our proofs in matters of politics.—Let us see these facts. You signed the peace with me in the beginning of the year—you engaged yourselves to break off all communications with England—you kept a minister at London, and an English agent in Sweden, until the summer was far advanced—you did not interrupt the ostensible communication by the way of Gottenburg until still later, and what was the result of it? That the correspondence remained the same, neither more nor less active.—Poh! the question is not a communication by this way, or by that; it is regular; it is very considerable.—You have vessels in all the ports of England.—Salt, truly! Do you get salt in the Thames? The English trading vessels besiege Gottenburgh—a fine proof that they do not enter there!—They exchange their merchandise in the open sea, or near to the

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the coasts. Your little islands serve as magazines in the winter season. Your vessels openly carry colonial produce into Germany; I have caused half a score of them to be seized at Rostock.—Is it possible that one can affect thus to be mistaken on the first principle of the continental system?—Very well. You do not approve of this in your note; it is not of that I complain, it is of the fact.—I have not slept a single hour in the night, on account of your affairs: you might suffer me to repose in peace, I have need of it.—Again, is this restitution of the English prisoners a proper thing; those who had so imprudently attempted the dignity of the King, and violated his territory. Restored without any satisfaction!—Was it not so, Monsieur de Cadore?—(The minister, all in tremulation, did not omit replying affirmatively to this, as well as to some other similar questions.) Another violation of territorial right, is the capture of a French privateer in the interior of the port of Stralsund: but to me no account has been rendered.—It is not to one's friends that one shews these little attentions!—Very well! remain with the English!—If one were to judge from the evil you have done me this very year, you never could have been better friends to the English than at this moment.—Oh, oh! it is you that tell me so!—It is you who assure me that Sweden wishes rather to remain on my side; but proofs, I say, give me proofs!—Very well! your state, at the end of an unfortunate war, required some circumspection and precaution.—Well, I have had them to my loss.—You have cajoled me; yes, you, you yourself.—You have had the address to gain the bad season; you have time to settle your interests with England; is it just, that if any engagement exists contrary to faith, that I am to bear the burden?—You have had time to put yourselves in a state of defence: you have still the winter before you.—What, then, have you to risk?—Yes, the export trade; that is the battle-horse: what then is become of the neutral flag?—There are no longer any neutrals: England acknowledges none, nor can I acknowledge them any longer.—Salt, aye, salt! one can find means to obtain what is necessary, How did you do in 1801, when you were in open rupture with England?—Suffer! Do you not believe that I suffer? That France, Bourdeaux, that
Holland,

Holland, that Germany, suffer? But this is precisely what an end must be put to. A maritime peace at any price!—(Here the Emperor was violently agitated.) Yes, Sweden is the sole cause of the crisis I experience. Sweden has done me more harm than five coalitions together. But now, restored to her communications with the rest of Europe, she has taken advantage of it to carry on the commerce of England.—Ah, Sir, time! always time: I have lost too much time.—It was necessary, you said, to enter into the new system, without making too many sacrifices: it was also necessary for me, you added, to do some good for Sweden. Hear me: when you made choice of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, did I risk nothing in permitting him to accept the offer? Was I not on the point of embroiling myself with Russia? Was it not believed—is it not, perhaps, still believed—that you, on your side, and the Saxons and Poles on the other, supported by me, would arm to conquer their lost provinces? Were not men's minds then much agitated in Poland?—What did I do then? I caused such things to be said, such reports to be circulated, as might detach Russia from my system. It is only now that, more and more undeceived with respect to Swedish politics, I have taken a decisive step, which I will not conceal from you. I have sent back M. de Tchernicheff to Russia; I have informed him of the declaration which I have made to you to-day. I have strongly pressed the Emperor Alexander to take the same step on his part. Choose! Cannon must be fired on the English which approach your coasts, and their merchandise in Sweden be confiscated; or you must have war with France. I cannot do you any great harm; I occupy Pomerania, and you do not much care about it: but I can cause you to be attacked by the Russians and by the Danes; and I can confiscate all your vessels on the continent; and I will do it, if within fifteen days you are not at war with England.—Yes, you are right; the time for the going and returning of the courier must be reckoned, and something more. Here, M. de Cadore, I order you to send off a courier immediately; and you, Sir, will do the same. If, within five days after the official act of M. Alquier, the King has not resolved to be at war with England, M. Alquier shall set out immediately, and Sweden shall have war with France and all
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her allies.—Yes, it is just; I have not positively demanded the state of war before this moment; but I am now forced to it by all imaginable means.—Sweden has already found that she cannot remain in a mixed state with England, without doing great injury to the continent. At length, things have taken a general development, which requires a perfect equality of measures, or a state of open hostilities. This is what all other powers have thought ought to be done.—Russia, though stronger than the rest, has only obtained peace with me, on the condition of declaring war against England. Austria, a power of the first order, if France did not exist, has frankly taken her resolution. I have been a long time the dupe of Prussia, and of you. She at length came to find, by the catastrophe of Holland, that it was necessary to come to a determination, and she frankly adopted a state of war. Denmark has done so long ago; but with what title can I exact from that country what I cannot obtain from Sweden? I often say to myself, who knows whether I shall always be on a good footing with Russia? Who can read the chapter of events? May it not one day be of the greatest interest to me, to have a friendly power in the north, strong in its own resources, as well as by my alliance? But could it, meanwhile, be believed in Sweden, that I would relax any thing in my invariable principles in favour of the new Prince Royal. On the contrary, the political crisis into which I have brought myself in her favour gives me a stronger title. Meanwhile, Sweden owes a great obligation to the person of the Prince Royal; for without that choice (by no means influenced by me) I should, two months ago, have taken the step which I now find myself forced to do. I nevertheless repent of this delay, which, on account of the season, has been so beneficial to you; not because I regret whatever good you may have derived from it, but because you have used me too ill.—For a long time past, the office which was intended for you was ready in the bureau of Monsieur the Duke de Cadore—(an affirmative reverence from the minister); but I waited for the arrival of the Prince Royal, who is instructed in my way of thinking.—I have not been able to do it; I have told you, that I was on the point of embroiling myself with Russia; I gave all Europe notice, that at this decisive moment

my system might be capable of modification. Besides this, new complaints against Sweden reached me from all sides.—Ah! I know what you have to say to me; I have read all that you wrote.—Well, be it so; there may have been some exaggeration in the complaints, but there still remains a sufficient quantity of truth.—I wish that you had a better cause to defend.—Oh no! the situation of the Prince-Royal will not be so difficult! all comes from hence, there is nothing embarrassing in the choice. But yet, could they believe in Sweden that they might serve the cause of England, without resentment on my part, because I love and esteem the Prince-Royal? I likewise love and esteem the King of Holland; he is my brother, and yet I have broke with him: I have silenced the voice of nature, to give ear to that of the general interest.

“ If you were on my frontiers, I should with regret be forced to act as I have just done with the Swiss. I have caused some troops to march, and the government has confiscated the English merchandise. Let us resume ourselves at length; let Sweden act as she thinks most advantageous; I know that it is out of my power to force her. Let her frankly range herself on the side of England against me and my allies, if such be her interest; or let her unite with me against England.—But the time for hesitation is passed: when five days have elapsed, M. Alquier will depart, and I will give you your passports.—You have said no more than what you ought to have said; but I cannot do otherwise than send you back.—Open war, or constant friendship; this is my last word, my ultimate declaration.—Adieu, may I see you again under more favourable auspices!”

It being therefore impossible any longer to temporise, accordingly, in the month of December 1810, the Swedish declaration of war against England was issued. It, however, breathed nothing of that spirit of hostility which marks such papers in general. The necessity for peace, under which her unfortunate warfare had placed Sweden, was frankly acknowledged; and an avowal almost equally explicit was made, that the measure now announced was resolved upon at the instigation of Buonaparte, who considered it his duty to make some observations to the King, in order to do
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away his doubts respecting the relation which ought to subsist between Sweden and Great Britain.

The measures of the Crown Prince, which he was now forced to adopt, were evidently as injurious to his own popularity, as they were contrary to the interests of the country he was destined to govern; and, whatever means he might have used to gain the hearts of the Swedes, they were likely to prove of little avail, when opposed to measures so destructive to their prosperity. He accordingly made every exertion to soften the mind of the French Emperor: he wrote him the two following letters, in hopes they would have the wished-for effect.

“SIRE—By my letter of the 19th of November, I had the honour to inform you, that the King, faithful to the sentiments which he expressed to your Majesty, resolved to declare war against England, notwithstanding every thing which the safety of his states opposed to that measure, and with the object alone of pleasing your Majesty.

“The King will always be proud of having given this proof of devotion to your Majesty; but it belongs to me, who am a daily witness of his sufferings and inquietudes, to appeal to your Majesty’s magnanimity in an affair which may have an influence upon the King’s health, and upon the happiness of Sweden. I flatter myself that your Majesty will graciously receive my observations.

“In addressing myself directly to you, Sire, I take the advantage of an old privilege which I shall always like to preserve, and which will renew in my heart recollections equally agreeable as glorious.

“Sweden, in the sad condition to which the last war reduced her, neither should nor can aspire, but after a long peace. It was the only means of regaining, by agriculture and commerce, the losses she had sustained, and thus re-establishing by degrees her finances, and of entirely recruiting her military system and her administration. Far from that, it is Sweden who has just declared war; she has hazarded this step without a single battalion ready to march, without her arsenals or magazines containing the least necessary article, and, what is still worse, without a single *sou* to provide for

the expences of so great an enterprise ; in a word, in the station in which the government of this country is, such a step would undoubtedly make it be accused of folly, if your Majesty's approbation did not legitimate every thing. Sweden, it is true, possesses in herself the principles of a great force ; her inhabitants are by nature warriors ; her constitution allows of 80,000 men being put on foot, and its male population is such that this levy can be easily raised : but you, Sire, know that war can only be supported by war ; and a great military state, purely defensive, is an expence which Sweden cannot support without foreign aid.

“ The constitutional laws forbid the King from imposing new taxes, without the consent of the General States ; and the war has just destroyed one of the principal branches of public revenue—the produce of the customs, which amounted to more than six millions of francs a year. To that must be added, that the contributions are in arrear ; and that the confiscations which are made, fall upon Swedish subjects, and not upon foreigners, who take the precaution of insuring payment for the goods imported.

“ In short, Sire, our situation is most alarming, if France does not come to our succour. Since the first alliance concluded between Gustavus Vasa and Francis I. France has been not only the constant friend of Sweden, but has supported and succoured her in all her wars. Nature seems to have destined these two nations to live in harmony ; and if she has refused Sweden riches, she has endowed her with valour and all the qualities requisite for the execution of the greatest designs. There is here but one wish, that of being sincerely in accord with France, and of participating in her glory every time an opportunity presents itself. But money fails us.

“ Deign, Sire, to take into consideration the particular state of this country, and be pleased to kindly accept the expression of the sentiments, &c.

The other letter was as follows:—

“ SIRE—M. de Tchernicheff asked me if I would take charge of a letter for your Majesty. I hastened to do it, hoping that he would tell your Majesty what he has seen in Sweden. In truth, Sire, full of confidence in your magnanimity, and your particular kindness for me,

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I have but one thing to desire, *viz.* that the truth should be known to you.

“ M. de Tchernicheff will tell your Majesty, that Sweden is upon the point of being reduced to the most deplorable state; that she is without any means of supporting the war which she has just declared; that, nevertheless, the government redoubles its efforts in so violent a crisis; but that it is not in the power of the King to extend, as in other places, the system of confiscations; that the constitution here guarantees the rights and property of every individual; and that even if the King should adopt a contrary measure, no Councillor of State would give his consent to it.

“ I have the happiness of having in my favour the general opinion of the nation; but most certainly I should lose this moral force that day in which it was believed I had the least intention of making the smallest attempt upon the constitution.

“ The King offers to your Majesty every thing in his power. No sacrifice will be painful to him, to prove to your Majesty his devotion to France; but I conjure you, Sire, deign to calculate our means, and grant us the confidence we merit by our sincere and unalterable attachment.”

Notwithstanding these supplicating letters of the Prince Royal, Buonaparte remained inexorable; and accordingly, as we have seen, Sweden was plunged into war, the consequence of which was, the ruin of her commerce, and the entire dilapidation of her finances. The Prince Royal was now called upon to exercise the royal authority, in consequence of the indisposition of the King; and it is remarkable, that nearly the same restrictions upon his power were imposed, as those upon the temporary regency of the Prince Regent, as will appear from the following document.

“ We, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. &c. make known—Whereas, owing to an illness that has befallen us, and from which, by the assistance of the Almighty, we hope soon to be restored, we have deemed it necessary, in order to promote this object, for the present to withdraw ourselves from the cares and troubles which are so closely united with the management of public affairs; and in order, during our illness, not to
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retard the progress of affairs, we have thought fit to order what is to be observed respecting the government; and having at the same time found that the States of the kingdom, on drawing up the constitution, have, only from tender motives towards us, not pointed out how and in what manner, as in the present case, the government is to be managed during the illness of the King, when the successor is of age, we have, therefore, thought that we could in no better way fulfil our obligation towards ourselves and the kingdom, than by entrusting the care of both to a Prince, who, being intended one day to be seated on the throne of Sweden, has, by the ties of nature and friendship, become most dear to us, and who unites in his person the love of us and of the Swedish people. And we do, therefore, hereby appoint and nominate our beloved son his Royal Highness Charles John, Prince Royal of Sweden, and Generalissimo of our military forces by land and sea, during our illness, and until we shall be restored to health, to manage the government in our name, and with all the rights we possess, and alone to sign and issue all orders, &c. with the following motto above the signature—‘*During the illness of my Gracious King and Lord, and agreeable to his appointment.*’ However, his Royal Highness the Prince Royal must not, during his administration of our royal power and dignity, create any nobleman, baron, or count, or bestow on any one the orders of knighthood. All *vacant offices* of state can only, until further orders, be managed by those whom his Royal Highness shall appoint for that purpose. We rest assured that our faithful subjects will joyfully receive the resolution thus taken by us, which gives an unexceptionable proof of our unlimited confidence in our well-beloved son his Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and of the sentiments which we have always entertained, and which we shall never cease but with our life to entertain for the people the government of whom Providence has confided to us. This serves for the information of all and every one concerned: in further testimony whereof we have signed these presents, and caused the same to be sanctioned by our royal seal.”

In exercising the powers entrusted to him, the Prince Royal proved how well calculated he was to govern. His cares were particularly directed to the correction of abuses

abuses of all kinds, to the repressing luxuries among the people; and, by endeavouring to bring them back to the simple habits of their ancestors, he hoped to restore them to that renown for which Sweden had always been remarked.

The Prince Royal having held his authority until January 1812, upon the recovery of the King he made the following report to his Majesty:—

“Sire—My most ardent wishes have been fulfilled. The re-established health of your Majesty again enables you to resume the government of the kingdom.

“I can appeal to your own heart, to judge of the delightful emotion mine experiences in replacing in the hands of your Majesty an authority, the prolonged exercise of which has constantly kept before me the danger which threatened your days.

“Notwithstanding the daily reports which I have submitted to your Majesty, both respecting the exterior and interior situation of the state, I nevertheless consider it my duty to profit by the present occasion, so important for me, upon all accounts, to present your Majesty with a rapid sketch of them.

“When your Majesty decided upon embracing the continental policy, and declaring war against Great Britain, Sweden had got clear of an unfortunate contest; her wounds were still bleeding; it was necessary for her to make new sacrifices, at a moment even when she lost one of the principal branches of her public revenues, the whole of that produced by the customs being nearly annihilated.

“In defiance of the insulated situation of Sweden, she has performed, for the interest of the common cause, all that could be expected from a people faithful to their engagements; more than 2,000,000 of rix dollars have been expended in recruiting the army, and placing in a state of defence the coasts of our islands, our fortresses, and our fleets.

“I will not conceal from your Majesty, that our commerce has been reduced to a simple coasting trade from port to port, and has greatly suffered from this state of war. Privateers under friendly flags, against which it would have been injurious to have adopted measures of safety and precaution, have taken advantage of our confidence

fidence in treaties, to capture, one after another, nearly fifty of our merchantmen; but at last, Sire, your flotilla received orders to protect the Swedish flag, and the just commerce of your subjects, against piracies which could neither be authorized nor avowed by any government.

“ The Danish cruisers have given much cause for complaint on our part; but the evil decreases daily, and every thing leads us to think the lawful commerce of Sweden will not be any longer disturbed by them, and that the relations of good neighbourhood will be more and more strengthened.

“ The cruisers under the French flag have given an unlimited extension to their letters of marque; the injuries which they have done us have been the object of our complaints. The justice and loyalty of his Majesty the Emperor of the French have guaranteed their redress.

“ The protections given by friendly governments have been respected; and such of their ships as have touched upon our coasts have been at liberty to continue their voyage, whatever might be their destination.

“ About fifty American ships, driven upon our coasts by successive tempests, have been released. This act of justice, founded upon the rights of nations, has been appreciated by the United States; and appearances promise us, that better understood relations with their government will facilitate the exportation of the numerous piles of iron with which our public places are now filled.

“ Political considerations join with the family connection which unites your Majesty and the King of Prussia, to consolidate the relations of friendship that subsist between the two powers.

“ The peace with Russia will not be troubled: the treaties by which it is cemented are executed on both sides with frankness and good faith.

“ Our relations with the Austrian empire are upon a most amicable footing: the remembrance of glory brings the two nations nearer to each other; and your Majesty will neglect nothing which can contribute to maintain the reciprocity of confidence and esteem it causes.

“ If Spain and Portugal should assume a tranquil posture,

posture, these countries will offer to Swedish commerce, advantages which would guarantee the perfection of the plans she has commenced for improving her iron mines.

“ Our intercourse with Southern America has entirely ceased; civil war ravages these fine and unfortunate countries. When they have a regular administration, the produce of the kingdom will find an advantageous vent there.

“ The maritime war has interrupted our commercial relations with Turkey; but nothing which interests that ancient friend of Sweden can be indifferent to your Majesty.

“ Such, Sire, are the exterior relations of Sweden; justice and loyalty towards all nations have been the political guides of your Majesty.

“ The army and the finances, those two principal guarantees of a state, have, above all, been the object of my constant solicitude.

“ A wise economy has governed the expenditure of the funds destined for the armaments which the state of war rendered necessary. This war, having great influence upon the exportation of Swedish productions, upon the general proceedings of trade, and the imaginations of merchants, had caused the course of exchange to rise to an exorbitant height; I particularly directed my attention to stop this scourge of states, which having once broken its dykes, no bounds can be placed to its ravages; by repressing on the one side stock-jobbing; by carrying into execution the ancient laws against the unlawful exportation of gold and silver; by imposing a duty of transit upon the conveyance of ingots from foreign countries, passing through Sweden; by endeavouring to bring back the nation to the principles of economy which distinguished their ancestors. On the other side, I have endeavoured to give activity to the interior industry and lawful commerce of Sweden.

“ I have had the satisfaction of seeing my efforts crowned with success, and that the course of exchange upon Hamburgh, which in March last was at 136 *sk.* on the 3d of the present January was only 84 *sk.*

“ I have taken measures to render more general the manufacture of linen, and the culture of hemp; to pro-

ceed actively in the discovery of new sources for obtaining salt; to continue the clearing of the grounds in Dalecarlia; to establish a new communication with and new markets in Verwelaud; to form a company destined to carry on the herring fishery in the open sea; to augment our commercial relations with Finland; to carry into execution the financial resolutions of the States of the kingdom; to give to the direction of magazines, to those of the customs, and to the island of St. Bartholomew, a fresh organization.

“ The harvest not having proved a good one, I have adopted means to prevent a scarcity, by causing corn to be imported from foreign countries; but, in order to prevent such importation influencing the exchange, salt must be exported for grain so received. This exchange will be effected with so much the more facility, as there yet exists a sufficient provision of salt in the country for two years’ consumption.

“ I have with grief observed, that the immoderate use and manufacture of brandy, by which the general interests are sacrificed to individual ones, corrupt the nation, and will sooner or later inevitably cause a scarcity. I have only employed exhortations on this subject, which I have collected from the paternal sentiments of your Majesty; and I leave it to other times, and to the judgment of the States, to put an end to an evil which every body acknowledges continues increasing.

“ I have paid particular attention to the state and organization of the hospitals, to the religious establishments, and to the means of preventing, or at least of relieving, the condition of mendicity.

“ The interior police and agriculture have not been lost sight of; and a Central Academy of Agriculture will shortly be established, for the purpose of giving an impulse and an encouragement to the public economy, and to scientific knowledge, which will contribute to insure the prosperity of the state.

“ The works of the canal of Gothland, that grand monument of your Majesty’s reign, have been carried on with great activity. Those of the canal of Sodertelje, stopped by obstacles which the zealous efforts of the directors have not been able to surmount, have again recommenced with more rapid strides.

“ I have

“ I have carried into execution the solemn resolution of the States of the kingdom, sanctioned by your Majesty, regarding the national armament; but, careful not to deprive agriculture of any more arms than are indispensably necessary for the defence of our country, I have merely ordered a levy of 15,000 men, exclusive of the 50,000 which the States had placed at your Majesty's disposal. The most direful errors were carried even into Schonen, where violence and a public rebellion threatened for a moment to oppose the execution of the measures ordained. Already did our enemies, or such as are envious of our repose, begin to rejoice at our intestine dissensions; but these were soon suppressed by the united force of the army and the laws, and were succeeded by the return of national sentiment and obedience to their duty. The vacancies in the new enrolment and in the national armament are almost entirely filled up, and every measure has been taken to render them useful in this employ. The regular army has been recruited, as is also the whole of the reserve, new clothed, and supplied with well-conditioned arms, of which sufficient quantities are found in the magazines; and the foundries for arms have obtained a renewed activity. The making of gunpowder and saltpetre has been extended and improved, and the artillery put into respectable condition.

“ The pensions granted to officers and soldiers wounded during the war, have been either confirmed or augmented. The accounts of the expences of the late war have been accelerated; and such measures as have been successively adopted, had no other object in view than to render the troops serviceable, and to supply them with the necessaries requisite.

“ Your Majesty will deign to perceive by the statement, that, notwithstanding all that the detractors of Sweden have insinuated on this head, as that it would take sixty years to organize an army of 60,000 men, yet the effecting of this will be apparent, in the month of April next, both to the friends and enemies of your Majesty. The intent of this augmentation of our military force is merely defensive. Without any other ambition than that of preserving her liberty and laws, Sweden will have the means of defending herself; and she can do it. Bounded by the sea on one side, and on the other by inaccessible mountains,

mountains, it is not solely on the courage of her inhabitants, nor in the remembrance of her former glory, that she has to seek for the security of her independence; it is rather to be found in her local situation, in her mountains, her forests, in her lakes, and in her frosts. Let her therefore profit by these united advantages, and let her inhabitants be thoroughly persuaded of this truth, that if iron, the produce of their mountains, cultivates their farms, by ploughing up their fields, that it is likewise iron alone, and the firm determination of making use of it, that can defend them.

“ I have been seconded in my efforts by the good spirit prevalent in the army, and by the zeal and abilities of the public functionaries.

“ The magistracy has maintained its ancient reputation; it has painful duties to fulfil, but this has procured it a fresh claim to the general esteem.

“ The different departments of the chancery of state have rivalled each other in giving the quickest dispatch, compatible with the formalities required by our laws and customs, to all business which has come under their cognizance.

“ The secretary of state's department for church affairs has, since the 17th of March, expedited nearly 600 causes; that of the interior, 952; that of finance and commerce, 1653; and the war department, 2535. The causes in which final decision has not yet been given, and which are confined to a very moderate number in each department, in comparison to the extent coming under their several denominations, are either of such nature as to require your Majesty's decision, or to be again brought forward for final determination.

“ Should your Majesty deign to recognise, in the sketch which I have laid before you, the desire which has actuated me to deserve the high confidence you have shewn towards me, this would prove, next to the joy I feel on your Majesty's re-establishment, the most pleasing recompence for all my pains. May heaven, in accordance with my prayers, lengthen your Majesty's days; and that Sweden, protected by your virtues, Sire, may find an imperishable guarantee for her future destiny, in the absolute devotion which my heart has vowed to your Majesty, in the respectful attachment of my son, in the sanctity of
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the laws of the state, in the uprightness of the public functionaries, and in the union, the courage, and the patriotism, of all Swedes!

“ With the most sincere sentiments of attachment, and with the most profound respect, I am, Sire, your Majesty’s most humble and faithful subject, and good son,

“ *Palace at Stockholm,*

“ C. JOHN.

“ *Jan. 7, 1812.*”

From this document it will be observed, that, by adopting the continental system, and declaring war against Great Britain, the produce of the Swedish customs had been ruined, and her commerce reduced to a mere coasting trade; that, notwithstanding her adoption of the Napoleon system, cruisers both under the French and Danish flags, had committed great outrages on Swedish property. These outrages Buonaparte promised to redress; instead of which, however, the same system of injustice was pursued.

From this report of the Crown Prince to his Majesty, we now proceed to take a review of the conduct of Sweden in the war which was just breaking out between France and Russia. The line of policy which this power should think proper to adopt in those critical circumstances was justly considered by all Europe as the most important. The known military character of the Crown Prince, and the great renown which he had acquired, made his alliance of the greatest consequence to either party. The conduct of France towards Sweden, like her conduct to all her other allies, was the most overbearing and haughty imaginable: to all the representations which were made to her respecting the depredations committed by French privateers upon the Swedish flag, no satisfaction could be obtained; and, to crown all her other acts of aggression, she violently seized upon Swedish Pomerania, at a time, too, when she had given hopes that the grievances complained of should be redressed. It was not therefore to be supposed, that a person of the character of the Crown Prince would long hesitate as to the side he would espouse, or that, in the event of a favourable opportunity offering, he would not assert the national honour of the Swedes. Having therefore made up his determination, as to the line of policy

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he should pursue, the Crown Prince, on the 14th of March 1812, addressed the following letter to Buonaparte:—

“ When the voice of the Swedish people called me to succeed to the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, to be always able to unite my personal affections with the interests of my new country: my heart cherished the hope that it might identify with the sentiment of this people, yet always preserving the remembrance of its first affections, and never losing sight of the glory of France, nor of the sincere attachment which it has vowed to your Majesty—an attachment founded on a confraternity in arms, which so many great deeds have illustrated.

“ It was with this hope that I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation in general attached to France, but still more so to their liberties and their laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but never desiring to obtain it at the expence of their honour and independence. Your Majesty’s minister wished to irritate this national feeling, and his arrogance has offended every one: his communications bore no character of those regards which are mutually due from crowned heads to each other. I, fulfilling your Majesty’s intentions, pleaded his passions. Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman pro-consul, without reflecting that he was not speaking to slaves. That minister has, therefore, been the first cause of the distrust which Sweden has begun to discover with regard to your Majesty’s intentions concerning her; subsequent events have added weight to it.

“ I have already, Sire, had the honour, in my letters of the 19th November and 8th December 1810, of giving your Imperial Majesty information of the situation of Sweden, and the desire which she had of finding in your Majesty a supporter. She could not but perceive in your Majesty’s silence an unmerited indifference; and she owed it to herself to provide against the storm which was about to break out on the continent. Sire, humanity has already suffered too much. The blood of man has for the last twenty years inundated the earth, and there is nothing wanting to your Majesty’s glory but to put a stop to it.

“ If your Majesty thinks proper that the King should
cause

cause the Emperor Alexander to be informed of the possibility of a reconciliation, I augur sufficiently well, from the magnanimity of that monarch, to dare assure you, that he will willingly agree to overtures that may be equally equitable for your empire and for the north. If an event so unexpected, and so universally desired, could take place, how many nations of the continent would not bless your Majesty! Their gratitude would be augmented by reason of the horror which inspires them against the return of a scourge which has lain so heavy on them, and the ravages of which have left such cruel traces behind it.

“ The plan adhered to by the Swedish government while the success of the northern campaign remained dubious, was dictated by the soundest policy relative to the circumstances of the country. Exhausted as Sweden was by a former war, and by no means free from party dissensions at home, the Swedish government would have exhibited the greatest imbecility if it had plunged into a dangerous quarrel before there existed the strongest grounds that the cause in which it was to engage would be finally attended with the most beneficial effects to the nation.”

Having now taken his resolution of supporting the cause of Russia and the freedom of the world, the Crown Prince suffered no lukewarm motives to sway his conduct, but entered heartily into all the measures of the Russian cabinet.

Soon after his letter to Buonaparte, the Swedish minister addressed a letter to the Austrian minister at Stockholm, in which he observed, that Sweden would be sufficiently justified for all the engagements she might make with the enemies of France, from the menaces of that power; her reiterated attacks upon the Swedish commerce; the carrying off nearly 100 vessels destined for friendly ports, and subject to France; from the sequestration placed upon Swedish property, in Dantzic, and other ports in the Baltic; and, lastly, from the invasion of Pomerania, in open defiance of all treaties. In this letter, also, the Swedish minister observed, “ that, however just the complaints which she has against that power, she does not desire war, and she does not like to be forced to make it even to preserve her independence
and

and laws. She is therefore ready to listen to any conciliatory propositions which shall be made to her. Justice is on her side. If Sweden was convinced that the Emperor Alexander aimed to subjugate Europe, and subject every thing to the Russian system, and extend his states to the north of Germany, Sweden would not hesitate a moment to declare and fight against this ambition; she would be directed by the state principle which should make her fear the increase of so dangerous a power. But if, on the contrary, Russia only arms in her own defence, to preserve her frontiers, her ports, and even her capital, from all foreign invasion—if in it she does but obey the imperious duty of necessity, it is for the interest of Sweden not to balance a moment in defending the interests of the north, since her own are common with them.

“ Sweden cannot flatter herself with being able, as a second power, to avoid that servitude with which France threatens states of the first order. A war undertaken to re-conquer Finland would be in no manner for the interests of Sweden. Europe is informed of the causes which made her lose it. To undertake a war to again obtain possession of it, would be not to understand the interests of the Swedish people: this conquest would occasion expences which Sweden is not in a condition to support; and its acquisition, admitting that it could be accomplished, would never be able to balance the dangers which would result from it to her. The English, during the absence of her armies, would give her fatal blows; her ports would be burned or destroyed, and her maritime towns reduced to ashes. Besides, as soon as a change should be effected in the political system of Russia, whether after success or defeat, her ancient views upon Finland would not fail to make a disastrous war weigh heavy upon Sweden. The Gulf of Bothnia separates the two states; no motive of division exists, and the national hatred daily disappears, in consequence of the pacific dispositions of the two sovereigns.

“ If France will acknowledge the armed neutrality of Sweden, a neutrality which must carry with it the right of opening her ports with equal advantages for all powers, she has no motive to interfere in the events which

which may take place. France engages to restore Pomerania; and, in case she should refuse this restitution, which at the same time the rights of nations and the faith of treaties demand, his Majesty the King of Sweden accepts, for this object only, the mediation of their Majesties the Emperors of Austria and Russia. His Majesty will agree to a reconciliation compatible with the national honour and interests of the North. His Majesty the King of Sweden, persuaded that all the preparations made by his Majesty the Emperor Alexander are for a purely defensive purpose, and intended but to prepare for his empire that armed neutrality which Sweden wishes, in concert with Russia, to establish, engages to use all his efforts with his Imperial Majesty to prevent a rupture taking place till a period is fixed which will enable Swedish, French, Austrian, and Russian plenipotentiaries to meet, and agree in a friendly manner upon a system of pacification, which, founded upon the said mentioned neutrality, in determining the differences now subsisting between the North and France, may insure to Europe the repose of which it has so much need."

In pursuance of the warlike attitude which Sweden, under the auspices of the Crown Prince, had assumed, a treaty was concluded with the court of Great Britain, highly in favour of the interests of the former power. By this treaty Sweden, in consideration of employing 30,000 men in co-operation with the Russian forces against the common enemy, obtained the consent of England to the annexation of Norway with Sweden; and, besides a million sterling, she obtained the island of Guadaloupe in the West Indies.

On the 20th of April the King assembled the Swedish Diet, and observed to them, that he had called them together at a time when great and important occurrences out of their native country seemed to threaten Europe with new misfortunes. Guarded by her situation from the forced obligation of paying obedience to foreign sway, which possibly might not accord with her own interests, Sweden had every thing to hope from unity, valour, and conduct; every thing to lose, if she gave herself up to intestine divisions, and unwise fear. And, further, that he had "fixed his determination of going hand in hand with his son, the Prince Royal, in defiance of

threats from without, and possibly of opinions at home, to maintain the liberty and independence of this ancient realm."

The Prince Royal also, on his part, observed—"You will shew what a nation is capable of effecting, when determined to free its commercial industry from all foreign yoke."

On the 18th of August, the Swedish Diet closed its sittings, when the King made another animated speech to them to the following effect:—

"It was with the height of confidence that I summoned you, good gentlemen and Swedish men, to meet and consult on matters of the greatest consequence to our native country. It is now that, with my hopes for the future being confirmed, I close your discussions. You have followed the advice of your King, and found that it was conformable with what your own hearts and the welfare of the kingdom demanded of you. Animated by the spirit of unity, you have laid aside private interest for the general well-being, and united for the defence of Sweden those powers, which, parted, would only have witnessed her degradation or her fall. *You have shewn that a king, with upright intentions and an open candour, need not to fear, even under foreign circumstances of great import, to rely on the deputies of his people; and that no foreign power can loosen or break those bonds of union which bind together the heir to Sweden's throne and the free-born heirs to Sweden's soil. Since I last saw you assembled before me, the war on the continent has broken out in a greater degree, and has been accompanied with all those misfortunes which are usually inseparable from it. Confident in the maxim which has been confirmed by experience, that strong defensive preparations are the surest means to insure the peaceable situation of a state, I have found it necessary to pay particular attention to the military force of the kingdom. My own and my son's inclinations should render you assured, good gentlemen and Swedish men, that the warlike force shall never be employed to any other purpose than to defend the honour of the nation, and the interest of our native country.*

"To defend the independence of Sweden against present shocks and future misfortunes, should be the united

united wish of yourselves and me. The unity of the Swedish people, the valour of her sons capable of bearing arms, my son's protecting sword, and the warm affection I bear to our native country, shall lead the way to this end. I have on this occasion, good gentlemen and Swedish men, deemed it likewise needful to inform you, that I have, on the 18th of last month, concluded a peace with the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the ratification of this treaty of peace was exchanged the day before yesterday. Good gentlemen of the knighthood and nobility, continue what you have been and still are, true to the memory of your forefathers, true to your joint duties, and to the great demands which your native country has upon you."

At this conclusion of their sitting, the Prince Royal also addressed them, in which he praised the coolness and steadiness of their deliberations amidst the preparations of war, and the din of arms resounding from the Dwina to the Tagus, and the animosity of their neighbours; he also observed to them, that if there should be no hope for Sweden of preserving peace, then would the King have recourse to their manly courage, and that their watchword should be—"God, liberty, and their native courage."

On the 28th of August, the Crown Prince had an interview with the Emperor Alexander, at Abo, in Finland; where some differences and difficulties which had arisen between Sweden and Russia were adjusted, and a plan of operations against the enemy was agreed upon. The Swedish forces having embarked for Stralsund, the Prince Royal proceeded to Carlsrona, and from thence took his departure for the same destination. Previous to his departure, he published a farewell address to the Swedish army in the interior, to the following effect:—

"Soldiers!—The King, in directing me to go and take the command of his army in Pomerania, has charged me to leave in Sweden two corps of the army, sufficiently numerous to insure the safety of the frontiers of the kingdom, and to act offensively wherever the honour and interests of the kingdom require. They will be commanded by Marshals Toll and Essen. Give them all your confidence; you owe it to their services, their

patriotism, and their experience. In separating from my King, my son, and from you, for some time, it is not to disturb the repose of nations, but to co-operate in the great work of a general peace, for which sovereigns and nations have sighed for so many years.

“Soldiers!—A new career of glory, and sources of prosperity are opening to our country. Treaties founded upon sound policy, and which have the tranquillity of the North for their object, guarantee the union of the people of Scandinavia. Let us make ourselves worthy of the splendid destiny that is promised us, and let not the people who stretch out their arms to us, have ever cause to repent their confidence.

“Soldiers!—Our ancestors distinguished themselves by their bold daring and their steady courage. Let us unite to these warlike virtues, the enthusiasm of military honour; and God will protect our arms.

“CHARLES JOHN.”

On the 17th of May the Prince Royal landed at Monasgut, near Perth, and passed the night at the castle of Puthus: the next day he arrived at Stralsund, and was met by the generals and members of the government on the Fahrbrücke; whence he proceeded, under the thunder of cannon, the ringing of bells, and amid the joyful acclamations of the populace, to the palace of government. He was accompanied by the Field-Marshal Baron Von Stedengk, and the Count Chancellor Wetterstedt. The Prince immediately after his arrival inspected the new fortifications.

Some deputies of the nobility at Rugen having waited on the Prince Royal, they were received in the most flattering manner; and in his address he observed to them, “You have suffered much; but if Sweden does not fall in this contest, every thing shall be made good to you.”

The first operations of the Crown Prince being connected with the occupation of Hamburgh, it will be interesting to give the particulars of the fall of this place. The situation of Hamburgh is peculiar: it was probably chosen, like that of Venice, for security as much as for trade; and, like Venice, it is built in a marsh. The interval between it and Harburg is filled with a succession of low green islands, intersected by narrow streams of the

the Elbe. The country on the opposite side is shut in by a range of sloping ascents, and Harburg rises gradually from the shore, where the eye is wearied by almost universal flatness: its situation is striking, and a few ranges of wood make it the favourite landscape of the Hamburgers. In its front is the island of Wilhelmsburg. The advance of the different corps of the French army to the Elbe had rendered it necessary for the divisions of Generals Tentenborne, Dornberg, and Tchernicheff, to recross this river: they concentrated at Hamburg on the 1st of May. General Sebastiani, with about 7000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, moved from Lüneburg in the direction of Magdeburg: on the 4th, this corps arrived and halted at Saltzwedel. General Davoust, with about 10,000 men, including the division of Vandamme, occupied Lüneburg, Harburg, and Stade, detaching small posts of unequal strength at intermediate points along the banks of the Elbe. On the move of General Sebastiani to his right, General Walmoden marched with the corps of Dornberg and Tchernicheff to Deumitz. On the 8th of May, Marshal Davoust collected from 5 to 6000 men in the vicinity of Harburg: this force, with the exception of about 1500 men left in Harburg, was embarked at one o'clock in the morning of the 9th. Favoured by the ebb tide, and under cover of numerous batteries on the opposite shore, a landing was effected at Wilhelmsburg long before break of day, which was occupied by Hamburg volunteers and a few Mecklenburghers. The number of troops stationed in this island did not exceed 1000 men: the enemy gained therefore, in the first instance, considerable ground; but, on the arrival of a Mecklenburg battalion, which was ordered immediately to their support, he was advanced upon and driven back to the boats. A battalion of Hanoverians, commanded by Major de Berger, and a Lubeck battalion marching from Burgdorf and Zouenspiker on Ochsenwerden, to the assistance of a corps of 600 men stationed at this post, attacked the enemy with vigour and impetuosity on his right flank: this compelled him to retreat; and, in falling back, he set fire to all the houses and mills in the line of his march.

The force in Wilhelmsburg, as already observed, did not amount to more than 1100 men, and many of these were

raw volunteers who had but just received arms, and some of whom had joined only a few days before. It has been since ascertained, that the surprise was effected as much by cunning as by force. The volunteers were posted so near the enemy, that every movement must have been seen from the French camp. They had been wearied with watching already; they had kept up a cannonade during the greater part of the day; and, on the intelligence of the victory of Gross Gorchon, they had sent for wine to celebrate the success of the cause. The French, who had intelligence of all that was going forward, sent over some women as wine and gin sellers, who mingled laudanum in all that they sold to the advanced posts. To try the effect of this experiment, four French soldiers came over in one of the small river boats; who, on being challenged by the centinel, cried out that they were deserters, and were suffered to land. On passing forward, they found the greater number of the posts so careless, that they gave the signal by firing at the centinels. The whole force then pushed over, opening a fire of cannon and musquetry, which drove back the picquets with considerable loss. On the advance of the Mecklenburgers, who were in reserve, the Hanseatic battalion rallied, and a severe independent fire took place through the whole line. The day was one of splendid sunshine, and the smoke rose in heavy clouds from the woods that spread down the Wilhelmsburg shore. The ramparts were covered with people, and every eye was fixed upon the battle. During the attack upon Wilhelmsburg, the inhabitants of Hamburgh and its vicinity were in the greatest confusion and distress. Numbers got on the tops of the houses, and watched the attack, which at intervals lighted the whole horizon. A partial fire of musquetry was heard through the cannonade; but, as the day broke, and the musquetry came nearer, it was evident the enemy had made good their landing, seized the island-batteries, and were driving in the Hamburgh volunteers. The terror of this idea was soon confirmed by the videttes galloping through the streets. It was understood in the city, that Davoust, who had expressed himself in the most violent language against Hamburgh, had promised his soldiers five hours plunder. The streets were immediately filled with frightened

ened people, running from their houses, heaping waggons with their furniture and valuables, and trying to escape into the country. This was at five in the morning. The cry every where was, "The French are come!" and even this cry, rising as it did from a wild and terrified populace, just roused out of their sleep, was scarcely to be distinguished among the trampling of cavalry and the crowding of carriages to the gates. About half past six the drums of the Burgher guard beat to arms a second time, and every thing was in frightful confusion: men hastily equipping themselves with whatever arms they could find, and running to the alarm posts—women and children of the first families, half dressed, heaped in waggons in the midst of beds and packages, and flying in silence and tears—expresses rushing by at every moment—and carts passing with the wounded just brought in from the field. In this state affairs continued till after the success of Major de Berger. In the course of the morning of the 9th, when it appeared obvious that the enemy were determined on trying their chance of reaching Hamburgh, the Danish sub-governor of Altona went over to Vandamme to remonstrate with him on the attack, and to declare that the Danes would assist to repel if it were persisted in. On Vandamme's inquiring why the Danes interfered, he was answered, that Denmark was too much interested in the safety of a great city in its neighbourhood, to look with indifference on the outrages which much take place in case of being entered by the French, and which might extend even to the Danish territory. Vandamme answered, that the French were a nation distinguished for urbanity in war; that it was absurd to suppose that the Emperor would wish to do any mischief to one of his own cities; and that, at all events, as he was determined on finding his way into Hamburgh, it would be quite the same to him whether he found it by the Hamburgh or the Danish shore. The Danes returned; and, immediately after, three Danish gun-boats full of men came up from Altona, and anchored to defend the passage opposite to Hamburgh. In the evening, as the intentions of the French could not be ascertained, all the troops were ordered out. The Cossacks, some Danish corps, and 10 pieces of Danish artillery, were drawn up in a line along the sands. Russian guns were
posted

posted close to Altona, and the most perfect cordiality took place.

In consequence of the approach of a body of the Swedes, the Danes evacuated Hamburg on the evening of the 12th, and retired to their own territory, leaving behind them their artillery for the protection of the town, and which was to be sent after them the moment the Swedes arrived. The latter, amounting to 1200 men, entered it on the 21st. General Tettenborne with the Hanseatic legion went out to meet them, and they were received at the gate by the Burgher guards. They had been forwarded in waggons, and were not in the least fatigued by travelling, but immediately on their arrival mounted guard. Their appearance was martial, their equipments in high order, and they were received by all ranks with joyful acclamations; they were afterwards stationed in the vicinity of the city, where they remained until the 21st, when they were recalled by order of the Crown Prince of Sweden, and its immediate occupation by the French was the consequence. The Crown Prince has been blamed for thus withdrawing his forces and leaving Hamburg unprotected; but his motives are allowed, by officers of distinguished talents, to rest upon good military principles.

To induce Sweden to take an active part in the operations on the continent, the allies had engaged to grant the following number of troops; Russia, 36,000, and Prussia, 16,000.

The troops which were organizing in the north of Germany, under the protection and at the expence of England, were, together with those from the two former powers, to be placed at the sole disposal of the Prince Royal, thereby giving him an army of 90,000 men, including his Swedish troops.

The utmost force of Swedes to be brought into co-operate with the allies in Germany was not to exceed 30,000; and of these a proportion would necessarily remain at Stralsund, where an entrenched camp was preparing for 15,000 men: but a part of the Swedish force had not at this time arrived, and the Prince Royal had not received the expected reinforcements of Russians and Prussians. He could therefore have only detached a small force to the Elbe, which, being exposed to the joint

joint attacks of the French and Danes, might have been cut off: for it must be observed, that at this period the main armies of the allies were retiring from the Saale and the Elbe, and that the whole course of the Lower Elbe, from Magdeburg to Hamburgh, was only partially guarded by small detachments, and therefore might be easily crossed at any point by a superior French force; but which certainly would not have been the case, if the twenty-eight gun boats which were lying at Gottenburg at the time (the 19th of May) the Danes withdrew their's from Hamburgh, had been in the Elbe. At all events, these gun boats might have contributed essentially to the defence of Hamburgh, and the passages in its immediate vicinity, if their co-operation could not have secured the river in its course far upwards.

By attempting to defend Hamburgh under these circumstances, the Prince Royal would have risked the destruction of his army in detail, as all support from his allies was remote and uncertain.

The importance of preserving Hamburgh on principles of humanity and general policy, it must be supposed, could not be less obvious to, or less felt by the Prince Royal of Sweden, than by the other powers; and therefore the only motives for his not attempting it must have resulted from military considerations; and there is not any military man who would not object to throwing a corps of troops into a large town unfortified, placed in a *cul de sac*, of which the chief protection, a river, had become null from the moment that a new enemy had started up who commanded the right bank.

Moreover, it would appear that at this period the Prince Royal was left much in the dark as to the plans and intentions of the Russians and Prussians. He had already been disappointed of the promised support. Their inadequate exertions, their retrograde motions, and the experience of their conduct in former contests, gave him reason to apprehend an armistice, which might be succeeded by a peace, leaving him to shift for himself; and therefore he would not have been justified in committing beyond the reach of support or the power of retreat the whole of the disposable military force of Sweden, or to risk the destruction of a part *when* its only security might have rested on its being kept together at Stralsund.

During the armistice in Germany, which was signed the 4th of June 1813, between the allied powers and France, the Crown Prince took the opportunity of paying a visit to the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, in order to concert with them the future operations to be pursued in the event of the renewal of hostilities. In his route to the head-quarters of the allies, he reviewed a number of Russian and other corps destined to act under his command, and was every where received with demonstrations of the warmest attachment and most sincere respect. On the 6th of July, the Prince Royal reached Prentzlau, where his Royal Highness was received, on the part of his Prussian Majesty, by the Prince of Sayn Witgenstein. He was afterwards waited upon by the magistrates and clergy, and welcomed in a speech from a member of the church. On mentioning the first appearance of the Prince Royal in Prentzlau, seven years ago, his Royal Highness exclaimed, "An unhappy time for your town; happily it is past, and may it never return." On expressing the flattering hopes they entertained, the Prince said, "The sole motive that inspires me will always be to contribute with what small means I possess to the preservation of your country's independence:" and, at the conclusion, he observed, "I have as yet done nothing to attract your attention to me; but I will endeavour to deserve it by my zeal for the welfare of your country."

When General Moreau landed at Stralsund, for the purpose of aiding by his councils the great cause for which Europe was contending, the Prince Royal of Sweden, who was then at Berlin, immediately set out to meet his early friend and companion in arms. In the conference between those two officers it was agreed to organize a separate corps d'armée, to be principally composed of French prisoners, and to be called "Moreau's Legion." This body was to be decorated with the white or national cockade, to bear the motto "*Pro Patria*," to fight for the deliverance of Europe, and in particular for the emancipation of Frenchmen. A part of the plan agreed upon was, that General Willot, who was expected in England from America, together with General Rewbel (the commander-in-chief of the Westphalian army, at the time of the escape of the Duke of Brunswick, and

and who was disgraced by Buonaparte on account of that event), were to organize such of the French prisoners as they could raise in this country, and to have disembarked with them in the north of France*.

The armistice not having led to a peace, great and formidable preparations had in the mean time been made by all parties for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

* The eventful years that had passed since the departure of General Moreau from the land of his nativity, the success of his Imperial rival, and the changes effected in the politics of Europe, were alike unable to obliterate from the minds of men the services or the just renown of General Moreau: his reputation was permanent, because it was founded on the qualities of the heart; and his military character was unimpaired, because it was solid. His health was drank at Dresden by the officers in the service of Napoleon; and, but for the interference of General Berthier, they would have paid for their enthusiasm by their lives. Five officers in the service of Buonaparte deserted to General Moreau from Dantzic; and had he been spared to his country, there is no doubt that he would have been joined by many valuable French officers.

The battle of Dresden, and the plan of the campaign, were arranged and advised by General Moreau and the Prince Royal of Sweden; they are, no doubt, some of the grandest ideas that they had ever projected. General Moreau was in earnest conversation with the Emperor Alexander, in the midst of the battle of Dresden, and in the act of giving his opinion on some military movements, while passing with the Emperor behind a Prussian battery, to which two French batteries were answering, one in front, and the other in flank; and the British minister, Lord Cathcart, and Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh, and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and carried away the calf of his other leg. He uttered a deep groan, but, immediately after the first agony of pain was over, spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and, perceiving the officers around him in the greatest distress, he observed, "*Soyez tranquilles, messieurs, c'est mon sort;*" and leaning on Colonel Rapatel, who supported him in his arms, he observed, "Though I am lost, to die in so good a cause, and in the presence of the Emperor Alexander, is sweet.

It has been observed, that in addition to the entire confidence of all the legitimate sovereigns in Europe, which General Moreau enjoyed at the time of his fate, Louis XVIII. had given him unlimited powers with respect to France, pledging his word that he would take no measures either of internal or external police, without consulting him. On hearing of his death, that prince exclaimed, "I have lost my crown a second time!" (*J'ai perdu ma couronne une seconde fois*). At the suggestion of the Prince of Condé, he intended to give General Moreau the rank of Constable of France, the highest situation under the old monarchy, and the French blue ribband.

The army of the north of Germany was entrusted to the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, and his headquarters were at Berlin. This army consisted of the whole Swedish army, large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, the militia of Brandenburg, and the troops levied from the Hanse Towns; the whole amounting to 120,000 men, commanded by an experienced officer, and composed of soldiers highly zealous in the cause they were engaged in. On the 15th of August, the Crown Prince issued the following proclamation to his army:—

“ COMBINED ARMY OF THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

“ *The Prince Royal, Generalissimo, to the Army.*

“ Soldiers!—Called, by the confidence of my King and of the Sovereigns his allies, to lead you in the career which is about to open, I rely for the success of our arms on the Divine protection, the justice of our cause, and on your valour and perseverance.

“ Had it not been for the extraordinary concurrence of events which have given to the last twelve years a dreadful celebrity, you would not have been assembled on the soil of Germany. But your Sovereigns have felt that Europe is a great family, and that none of the states of which it is composed can remain indifferent to the evils imposed upon any one of its members by a conquering power. They are also convinced that, when such a power threatens to attack and subjugate every other, there ought to exist only one will among those nations that are determined to escape from shame and slavery.

“ From that moment, you were called from the banks of the Wolga and the Don, from the shores of Britain, and the mountains of the North, to unite with the German warriors who defend the cause of Europe.

“ This, then, is the moment when rivalry, national prejudices, and antipathies, ought to disappear before the grand object of the independence of nations.

“ *The Emperor Napoleon cannot live in peace with Europe, unless Europe be his slave.* His presumption carried 400,000 brave men 700 miles from their country: misfortunes, against which he did not deign to provide, fell upon their heads, and 300,000 Frenchmen perished on the territory of a great empire, the Sovereign of which

which had made every effort to preserve peace with France.

“ It was to be expected that this terrible disaster, the effect of Divine vengeance, would have inclined the Emperor of France to a less murderous system; and that, instructed at last by the example of the North and of Spain, he would have renounced the idea of subjugating the continent, and have consented to let the world be at peace. But this hope has been disappointed; and that peace which all governments desire, and which every government has proposed, has been rejected by the Emperor Napoleon.

“ Soldiers!—It is to arms, then, we must have recourse, to conquer repose and independence. The same sentiments which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble and to combat the armies which entered their territory, ought now to animate your valour against those who, after having invaded the land which gave you birth, still hold in chains your brethren, your wives, and your children. Soldiers! what a noble prospect is opened to you! The liberty of Europe, the re-establishment of its equilibrium, the end of that convulsive state which has had twenty years duration, finally, the peace of the world, will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny that awaits you.

“ *Oranienburg,*

“ CHARLES JOHN.”

“ *Aug. 15, 1813.*”

The Prince Royal having concentrated his army between Berlin and Spandau, and finding that the corps of the Dukes of Reggio, Belluno, and Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, forming more than 80,000 men, were in the environs of Bareuth, and that every thing announced a rapid march upon Berlin, made the following dispositions.

“ The 3d Prussian corps, commanded by General Bulow, placed two divisions between Hernalsdorf and Klein Beren: one division already occupied Mittenwalde, and another Trebbin, in order to mask the whole movement. The 4th Prussian corps, under General Tauenzien, united at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army left Potsdam on the 22d at two A.M. proceeded upon
Saarmuüd,

Saarmund, passed the defiles, and took post at Rublsdorff. The Russian army followed the Swedish army, and took post at Gutergatze. General Tchernicheff guarded Beletz and Treanbortzen, with 3000 Cossacks, and a brigade of light infantry.

In the morning of the 22d, General Thumen was attacked by the enemy at Trebbin. Their superiority determined the general to evacuate that post. The enemy advanced successively, and occupied all the interval between Mittenwalde and the Saare, covered by woods and flanked by marshes. The advanced posts fell back slowly, and covered the front of the line. On the 23d, in the morning, the corps of General Bertrand debouched upon General Tauenzien; when the latter repulsed him and made some prisoners.

The village of Gross Beren, against which the 7th French corps, and a strong reserve, were directed, was taken by him. The Duke of Reggio's corps proceeded upon Ahrendorff. By the occupation of Gross Beren, the enemy was at 1000 toises from the centre of the camp. General Bulow received orders to attack it; he executed it with the decision of a skilful general. His troops marched (to make use of the Prince Royal's own words) with the calmness that distinguished the soldiers of the great Frederick in the seven years war. After a warm cannonade, the troops advanced under the protection of the artillery; and fell, with the bayonet, upon the 7th corps, which had deployed in the plain, and which marched boldly upon the camp. There were several charges of cavalry against the corps of the Duke of Padua, which were conducted in fine style. The French next made attempts upon the village of Rublsdorff. Some tirailleurs advanced against the light Swedish troops placed in front of that village; but, these being reinforced by some battalions, supported by artillery, the attempts of the enemy upon this, as well as upon other parts of the line, were rendered abortive; and they desisted without endeavouring to bring on a general engagement, and fell back in the direction of Dresden. The French suffered severely in this affair of Gross Beren, their loss in prisoners exceeding 1500: among these were several officers as well as privates who had formerly served under the Prince Royal's orders, who shed tears of joy on seeing their old
general

general again. In this manner the Prince Royal completely out-mancœuvred the attack directed upon Berlin: and, having gained the battle with his left wing, he immediately followed up his successes by advancing both his wings and centre as far as circumstances would permit, defeated his enemy in every direction, and took a considerable number of cannon. Immediately after the news of this success was received at Berlin, a deputation was sent to thank the Prince Royal for the protection he had afforded them; to which he made the following reply:—

“ Gentlemen—I have not deserved your thanks; but I rejoice much in this generous participation in the fortune of our arms, and in your attachment to your exalted monarch. We shall conquer: the advanced guard of our army has already driven the flying enemy into Saxony. Let us only have confidence in ourselves, and Prussia shall soon be restored to her former greatness; and we will then celebrate the festival of victory together. Salute, on my part, the worthy inhabitants of Berlin, and forget us not. Adieu, Gentlemen.”

After the battle of Gross Beren, the army of the Crown Prince continued to press upon the rear of the French. His Royal Highness finding, however, that the force opposed to him was by no means equal to that under his own command, determined to profit by it, and to move upon Leipsic with the Swedish and Russian troops, leaving General Tauenzien with 40,000 Prussians at Juterboch, for the purpose of covering Berlin. The army opposed to the Prince Royal had been weakened by large detachments made from it by its commander, Marshal Ney, which he took with him to strengthen Buonaparte's position at Dresden.

On the 4th of September, the head-quarters of the Prince Royal were transferred to Rabenstein; but no sooner had he commenced this movement, in order to advance with the Russian and Swedish army to Roslau, with the intention of there crossing the Elbe, and of taking the direction of Leipsic, he learnt that the enemy, after having made a demonstration of passing over to the left side of the river, had suddenly returned into his entrenchments at Teuchal and Tragum, in advance of Wittenberg. This sudden return afforded a presumption,
either

either that the enemy intended to attack the combined army of the north of Germany in their passage across the Elbe, or to make a rapid march upon Berlin. The latter was found to be the first object of the enemy. He marched upon Zahna, a post occupied by the troops of General Dobschutz, belonging to the corps d'armée of General Tauenzein, and attacked it on the 4th with a very considerable force. General Dobchutz maintained his ground with great bravery; and, the enemy having been repulsed in several attacks, re-entered his entrenchments before Wittenberg. On the following day, the most murderous attacks were renewed against Zahna; and, notwithstanding the gallantry of General Dobschutz and his corps, the enemy succeeded in carrying that position.

The whole French army, under the command of Marshal Ney, now rapidly advanced to Juterboch; upon this intelligence being received by the Prince Royal, he immediately altered his march, and hastened to the scene of action. He set out at three o'clock in the morning of the 6th of September from Rabenstein, and collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobessen; here it was that, whilst waiting the reports of General Tauenzein, whom he thought further advanced, he received the account from General Bulow announcing that the whole army of the enemy was rapidly advancing upon Juterboch. The Prince Royal therefore ordered General Bulow immediately to attack the flank and rear of the enemy, before General Tauenzein, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed with numbers. The Swedish army, who had been marching upwards of two German miles, proceeded to Juterboch, which was yet distant three German miles, and was followed by the Russian army, with the exception of the advanced guard under the orders of Count Woronzoff, and of the corps of General Tchernicheff, which continued before Wittenberg. The cannonade and musquetry began immediately between the Prussian troops and the army of the enemy. The Russian and Swedish corps, after their forced marches, were obliged to halt for a moment, to form in the order of battle. The Prussian army, at most 40,000 men strong, sustained in the mean while, with a courage truly heroic, the

the repeated efforts of 70,000 of the enemy, supported by 200 pieces of cannon. The struggle was unequal and murderous. The Prussian troops, however, were not disconcerted even for one moment; and if some battalions were obliged to yield for an instant the ground which they had gained, it was only for the purpose of re-occupying it the moment after. Whilst this was passing, 70 battalions of Russians and Swedes, 10,000 horse of both nations, and 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack, leaving intermediate spaces for deploying. Four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry had advanced in full speed to support some points whither the enemy principally directed his attacks. Their appearance began to check him, and the appearance of the columns did the rest. The fate of the battle was soon decided. The French army beat a retreat, but they were charged by the cavalry with a boldness resembling fury. They retreated with great precipitation upon the rout of Zahna.

This battle, known by the name of Dennevitze, being fought near that village, was very disastrous to the French: their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of 16,000 men; more than 50 pieces of cannon, and upwards of 400 ammunition waggons. The field of battle, and the road over which the enemy passed, were strewn with their dead and wounded.

After the battle, General Wobeser, who had been ordered to proceed from Luckau upon Zahna, attacked in that town, (where Marshal Ney and the Dukes of Reggio and Padua had taken up their quarters), part of the enemy's army that intended to go to Dresden, and made 2500 prisoners. Major Helwig, with 500 horse, advanced upon Sweinitz and Hertzberg, and attacked a column of the enemy in the night, taking 600 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon. General O'Rourke, at the head of his cavalry, made upwards of 1000 prisoners, and took several pieces of cannon. The light troops every day brought in more; and General Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of the sharp-shooters, in the situation of a man desirous of death.

In the battle of Dennevitze, every corps of the allied army vied with each other in courage and devotion. The Prussians, in particular, manifested the greatest

heroism, and they were valiantly supported by the Russians and the Swedes. The French army was composed of four corps d'armée; those of Marshal Duke of Reggio, of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, and of that of the Duke of Padua, and of from 3 to 4000 Polish troops, foot and horse; the whole under the command of the Marshal Prince of Moskwa.

The Crown Prince, in his bulletin, issued on the occasion, highly praised the coolness and bravery of General Bulow: and, in speaking of General Count de Tauenzein, he observed, that he had, during the whole affair, repulsed the most vigorous and repeated attacks of the enemy.

The Russian General Count de Manteuffel distinguished himself in charging at the head of his brigade. Generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, Benckendorff, and Hirschfeldt, having been placed much in advance upon the right wing of the army, were not enabled to assist in the engagement; but they materially contributed to the success by the positions which they occupied.

Marshal the Count de Stedinck, and General the Baron de Winzingerode, the generals, officers, and men under their command, regretted that the precipitate retreat of the enemy did not leave them the opportunity of rendering their destruction complete, by a simultaneous attack. The wind and the great clouds of dust, for a long time, prevented the Russian and Swedish armies from distinguishing each other, notwithstanding that they marched in concert, and upon the same line.

The Prince Royal was constantly attended by his staff. General the Baron de Adlercreutz did not leave him until he had received directions to proceed to the right of the Prussian army, with several pieces of cannon, under the direction of Colonel Cardill. A solemn *Te Deum* was ordered to be chaunted in every corps of the army.

After the battle of Dennevitz, the French continued their retreat, closely followed by the army of the Crown Prince. On the 15th of September the Prince's headquarters were at Zerbst. On passing the frontiers of Saxony, his Royal Highness made the following proclamation to the Saxons:—

“ Saxons! The combined army of the north of Germany has passed your frontiers, not to wage war with
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the people of your country, but only to attack its oppressors.

“ You cannot but ardently wish for the success of our arms, whose sole object is to revive your ruined prosperity, and to restore to your government its splendour and independence. We continue to consider all Saxons as friends. Your property shall be respected; the army shall observe the strictest discipline, and its wants shall be supplied in the manner least burthensome to the country. Forsake not your houses, and pursue your usual occupations as before.

“ Soon will important events deliver us from the danger of an ambitious policy. Be the worthy descendants of the Saxons of old; and if German blood must flow, let it be but for the independence of Germany, and not for the pleasure of one single individual, to whom you are bound by no tie, by no common interest. France is fine and extensive enough; the conquerors of antiquity would have been content with such an empire. The French themselves wish to return within the limits which Nature herself has prescribed them; they hate tyranny, even though they are subservient to it. Venture at length to tell them that ye are resolved to be free; and these same French will admire you, and will themselves encourage you to persevere in your generous undertaking.

“ CHARLES JOHN.”

It was about this time, that the following letter, written by the Prince Royal to Napoleon, appeared: we therefore deem it necessary to give it in this place, before we proceed further with the military operations. It will be unnecessary to make any comment upon its contents, as they sufficiently speak for themselves; it is to the following effect:—

“ SIRE—As long as your Imperial Majesty acted, or caused others to act against me only directly, I deemed it proper to oppose to you nothing but calmness or silence; but now, when the note of the Duke of Bassano to M. D'Ohson endeavours to throw between the King and me the same firebrand of discord which facilitated to your Majesty the entrance into Spain, all ministerial relations having been broken, I address myself directly to you, for the purpose of reminding you of the faith-

ful and open conduct of Sweden, even in the most difficult times.

“ To the communications which M. Signeul was charged to make by order of your Majesty, the King caused it to be replied, that Sweden, convinced that it was only to you, Sire, that she owed the loss of Finland, could never believe in your friendship for her, unless you procured Norway to be given to her, to indemnify her for the mischief which your policy had caused her.

“ With regard to all that is contained in the note of the Duke of Bassano, respecting the invasion of Pomerania, and the conduct of the French privateers, facts speak for themselves; and, on comparing the dates, it will be seen whether your Majesty or the Swedish government is correct.

“ A hundred Swedish ships had been captured, and more than 200 seamen put in irons, when this government saw itself compelled to cause a pirate to be seized, who, under the French flag, entered our very ports to carry off our ships, and to insult our confidence in treaties.

“ The Duke of Bassano says, that your Majesty did not provoke the war with Russia; and yet, Sire, your Majesty passed the Niemen with 400,000 men.

“ From the moment when your Majesty plunged into the interior of that empire, the issue was no longer doubtful. The Emperor Alexander and the King, already, in the month of August, foresaw the termination of the campaign, and its prodigious results; all military combinations seemed to guarantee that your Majesty would be a prisoner. You escaped that danger, Sire; but your army, the *elite* of France, of Germany, and of Italy, exists no more! There lie, unburied, the brave men who served France at Fleurus—Frenchmen, who conquered in Italy—who survived the burning clime of Egypt—and who fixed victory under your colours at Marengo, at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland!

“ May your soul be softened, Sire, at this heart-rending picture; but should it be necessary to complete the effect, recollect also the death of more than a million of Frenchmen, lying on the field of honour, victims of the wars which your Majesty has undertaken.

“ Your

“ Your Majesty invokes your rights to the friendship of the King! Permit me to remind you, Sire, of the little value your Majesty attached to it, at times when a reciprocity of sentiment would have been very useful to Sweden. When the King, after having lost Finland, wrote to your Majesty to beg you to preserve for Sweden the Isles of Åland, you replied to him, ‘ Apply to the Emperor Alexander—he is great and generous;’ and to fill up the measure of your indifference, you caused it to be inserted in the official journal (*Moniteur of the 21st of September 1810*) at the moment of my departure for Sweden, that there had been an *interregnum* in that kingdom, during which the English were carrying on their commerce with impunity.

“ The King broke off from the coalition of 1792, because it was the object of that coalition to partition France, and he would have no hand in the dismemberment of that fine monarchy: he was led to that measure, a monument of his political wisdom, as much by his attachment to the French people as by a wish to heal the wounds of the kingdom. That wise and virtuous policy, founded on the principle that every nation has a right to govern itself by its own laws, its usages, and its own will, is the very same which regulates him at the present moment.

“ Your system, Sire, would interdict to nations the exercise of that right which they have received from nature—that of trading with each other, of mutually assisting each other, of corresponding and living in peace; and yet the very existence of Sweden depends upon an extension of commercial relations, without which she would be insufficient for her own subsistence.

“ Far from perceiving in the conduct of the King any change of system, every enlightened and impartial man will find in it nothing but the continuation of a just and steady policy, which was manifested at a period when the Sovereigns coalesced against the liberty of France; and which is now pursued with energy, at a time when the French government continues to conspire against the liberty of nations and of sovereigns.

“ I know the good dispositions of the Emperor Alexander, and of the cabinet of St. James’s, towards peace: the calamities of the continent demand it, and your Majesty

jesty ought not to spurn it. Possessed of the finest monarchy upon earth, would you be always extending its limits, and transmit to an arm less powerful than your's, the wretched inheritance of interminable wars? Will not your Majesty apply yourself to the healing of the wounds inflicted by a revolution, of which there is nothing left to France but the recollections of its military glory, and real calamities within its interior? Sire, the lessons of history repel the idea of an universal monarchy: and the sentiment of independence may be deadened, but cannot be effaced from the heart of nations. May your Majesty weigh all these considerations, and at last really think of that general peace, the profaned name of which has caused so much blood to flow. I was born, Sire, in that fine France which you govern;—its glory and prosperity can never be indifferent to me: but, without ceasing to form wishes for its happiness, I will defend, with all the powers of my soul, both the rights of the people who invited me, and the honour of the Sovereign who has condescended to call me his son. In this contest between the liberty of the world and oppression, I will say to the Swedes—‘I fight for you, and with you; and the good wishes of all free nations will accompany our efforts.’

“In politics, Sire, neither friendship nor hatred has place—there are only duties to fulfil towards the nations whom Providence has summoned us to govern: their laws and their privileges are the blessings which are dear to them; and if, in order to preserve them, one is compelled to renounce all connections and family affections, the Prince who wishes to perform his duty, can never hesitate which course to adopt.

“The Duke of Bassano announces, that your Majesty will avoid the *éclat* of a rupture; but, Sire, was it not your Majesty who interrupted our commercial relations, by ordering the capture of Swedish vessels in the bosom of peace? Was it not the rigour of your orders which forbid us every kind of communication with the continent for three years, and which, since that period, caused more than fifty Swedish vessels to be detained at Wismar, Rostock, and other ports of the Baltic.

“The Duke of Bassano adds, that your Majesty will never change your system, and will consider this as a civil war; which indicates that your Majesty means to retain

retain Swedish Pomerania, and will not renounce the hope of giving law to Sweden, and thus degrading, without running any risk, the Swedish name and character. By the phrase 'civil war,' you doubtless mean a war between allies; but we know the fate to which you destine them.

"If the events which have occurred for these four months past have induced you to throw upon your generals the disarming and the sending of the Swedish troops of Pomerania as prisoners of war into France, it will not be so easy to find a pretext to shew that your Majesty never wished to confirm the judgments of the council of prizes; and that you did not make particular exceptions against Sweden, even when that tribunal decided in our favour. Besides, Sire, no one in Europe will misunderstand the blame which you throw upon your generals.

"The note of the King's minister for foreign affairs, and the answer which M. de Cabre returned on the 4th of January 1812, will prove to you, Sire, that his Majesty had even anticipated your wishes by setting at liberty all the crews of the privateers. The government afterwards carried its consideration so far as to send back some Portuguese, Algerines, and Negroes, who, taken on board the same privateers, called themselves the subjects of your Majesty. There could not be the slightest reason, therefore, why your Majesty should not have ordered the return of the Swedish officers and soldiers, and yet they still groan under confinement.

"With regard to the threats contained in the note of the Duke of Bassano, and the 40,000 men whom your Majesty intends giving to Denmark, I do not think it becomes me to enter into discussion on these subjects; and the rather, because I doubt very much whether the King of Denmark can avail himself of that succour.

"With regard to my personal ambition—it is lofty, I acknowledge it: it has for its object to serve the cause of humanity, and to secure the independence of the Scandinavian Peninsula: to attain that end, I confide in the justice of that cause which the King has commanded me to defend, upon the perseverance of the nation, and the fidelity of its allies.

(Signed)

"CHARLES JOHN."

The

The Prince Royal's head-quarters still remained at Zerbst on the 26th of September. On the 21st, at break of day, a battalion of Saxon troops came over to the Prince, and requested to fight under the standard of his Royal Highness for the liberty of Germany.

Marshal Blucher having advanced with the greater part of his army from the environs of Bautzen to Elster, the Prince Royal immediately prepared to cross the Elbe at Rosslau. On the 4th of October he passed the river, and moved upon Dessau, his advanced posts extending to Raguhn and Junitz: by this means his junction with Blucher's army was fully accomplished. The enemy now retired in the direction of Leipzig. The head-quarters of the Prince Royal were on the 11th of October at Rothenburg, and his positions then extended from Witten to Halle upon the Saale and Mulda.

The movements were now panned for surrounding Leipzig, where Napoleon was concentrating his army. On the night of the 8th, the Emperor Alexander left Commoateau, followed by the reserve of his army, and advanced by rapid and successive marches to Altenberg, where the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian reserves were assembled on the 11th and 12th of October, and where the Emperor Alexander and Prince Schwartzberg's headquarters were established. The remainder of the grand army had proceeded down the Elster by Gheist and Pegau, to Lutzen on its left, and to Borna and Espenheim on its right. Marshal Blucher having moved to Halle, a direct communication was opened through Merseberg with that officer and the army of the Prince Royal; who accordingly advanced further into Saxony, and forming a position with the grand allied armies of Silesia and Bohemia, the whole encamped at Leipzig.

The Prince Royal had conceived that a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale would force Buonaparte either to a general battle, or would be the most effectual mode to embarrass and harass his retreat. In pursuing the plan of the Prince Royal, the allies were enabled completely to encircle Buonaparte's army at a time when it was in the greatest distress from the exhausted state of the magazines; and although he might succeed in breaking through this circle, yet the
allies-

allies had every reason to expect, and their expectations were justified in the event, that with it would follow the destruction of a principal part of his army.

In describing the subsequent operations of the army of the Crown Prince, we cannot do better than follow the narrative which he himself has given us. By this it appears, that the Emperor Napoleon quitted Dresden the 5th of October, and marched in two columns upon Meissen, one taking the left, and the other the right bank of the Elbe. Arrived at Wurtzen, he halted his troops. This movement, which was four days too late, proved fatal to the French army, and destroyed in two battles the spell of Napoleon's invincibility. The armies of Silesia and of the North of Germany were on the left bank of the Elbe. They possessed, in fact, neither a post nor a strong place on either bank; but, strong in their union and the bravery of their soldiers, they had formed the resolution of not repassing the river without giving or receiving battle.

The Prince Royal and General Blucher, wishing to get promptly out of this precarious situation, united with Prince William of Prussia, the 7th of October, at Muhlbeck on the Mulda. They determined to march upon Leipzig. The Emperor Napoleon, wishing to outstrip them, formed the design of attacking the army of Silesia. He marched against it with the intention of penetrating its line, and preventing it from regaining the bridge it had constructed at Wartenburg. This movement was foreseen; and the army of Silesia passed from the right to the left bank of the Mulda. In the night of the 10th and 11th, the two armies quitted their positions at Zorbig, Jessnitz, and Radegast, in order to place themselves behind the Saale: the army of Silesia marched upon Halle, and that of the North of Germany upon Rothenburg and Bernburg. The Emperor Napoleon, astonished at this march, arrested his movement upon the Elbe, and afterwards took the resolution of continuing it. He seized upon Dessau, the works and bridge of Roslau; detached two corps of his army upon Wittenberg; and caused General Thumen, who commanded the blockade of the fortress, to be attacked. That General, after a valiant defence, fell back upon the corps of General Tauenzein, which had re-crossed the Elbe. The

enemy immediately marched upon Roslau, and attacked General Tauenzein; who, in conformity to his instructions, made a retrograde movement, to cover Berlin. The enemy moved upon Acken, with the design of destroying the bridge. The troops posted on the right bank defended the approaches of certain batteries scarcely completed, but were at length forced to retire to the left bank of the river, and carried off some boats that composed the bridge. They sustained no loss. That which they suffered in the previous affairs, in the vicinity of Dessau, Cosurg, and Wittenberg, did not amount to more than 400 men.

Information having now been received from every quarter, that the Emperor Napoleon had assembled a considerable force between Duben and Wittenberg, in order to debouche through that city upon Magdeburg, and extricate himself from his hazardous position, the army of the North of Germany re-crossed the Saale on the 13th and moved upon Cothen, with the design of following the march of the Emperor's army, and of attacking it wherever it might be met with. Intelligence had been received that the 4th and 7th corps of the 2d corps of cavalry were upon the right bank of the Elbe, the 11th at Wittenberg, the 3d at Dessau, and the old and young guards at Duben. The Duke of Ragusa was at Delitzsch. The enemy, the same evening, attacked the town of Acken. The division of the Prince of Hesse Homburg moved in that direction; but General Hirschfeldt had already succeeded in repulsing that part of the 3d French corps which had made the attack.

The bridge of Acken was already re-established, and every preparation made to cross the Elbe by main force, when accounts arrived that the Emperor Napoleon had made several corps of his army retrograde, and had re-assembled his troops between Duben and Wurtzen. The presence, however, of two corps between Dessau, Wittenberg, and Duben, excited a suspicion that he intended to strike a grand blow, after having changed his plans. But, being continually watched, all his movements were ascertained, and those of the army of the North of Germany were regulated accordingly. That army marched on the 15th October upon Halle. The Emperor, conceiving that it was going to re-cross the Saale,

Saale, concentrated his army in the vicinity of Leipzig. The grand army of Bohemia, commanded in chief by Prince Schwartzenberg, approached that city at the same time, and every moment rendered the situation of the French army worse. On the 16th of October, the army of the North of Germany, instead of marching upon the Saale, moved to the left, and directed its march upon Landsberg. General Blucher, who had already marched upon Schkenditz, moved upon Freyroda and Radefeld, where he the same day attacked the enemy, and compelled him, after an obstinate engagement, to fall back behind the Partha. He took, upon this occasion, 2000 prisoners, an eagle, and 30 pieces of cannon.

Every account announced that the Emperor Napoleon would attack the army of Silesia next day with the greatest part of his united forces. The army of the North of Germany put itself in march on the 17th, at two in the morning, from its position at Landsberg; and, at an early hour, arrived upon the heights of Breitenfeld, where it encamped. The day was calm. The following morning Prince William of Prussia and General Blucher joined the Prince Royal. His Royal Highness was informed, that the army of Bohemia would attack the enemy that day; and he resolved to take a vigorous part in the attack. He concerted with General Blucher, that the army of the North should proceed upon Taucha, to form a junction by its left with the army of General Benningesen, and that General Count Langeron's corps should act, during the day, under the orders of his Royal Highness. A cannonade was heard a few moments after, in the direction of the army of Bohemia, and the troops marched in order to pass the Partha. General Bulow's corps, and General Winzingerode's cavalry, which formed the extreme left, proceeded upon Taucha. The Russian army, whose advanced guard was commanded by Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff, forded the stream, near Grasdorff. The Swedish army passed between that place and Plaussig. Already, on the preceding evening, General Winzingerode had caused Taucha to be occupied, and took in that place three officers and 400 men. The enemy, however, perceiving all the importance of that point, had dislodged the Cossacks, and occupied the village in considerable force. General Baron Pahlen,

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bravely supported by Colonel Arnoldi, of the horse artillery, who had lost a leg on this occasion, made a brilliant charge, seized the village, surrounded two Saxon battalions that were there, and made them prisoners. The cavalry then advanced, and effected a junction with the advanced guard of General Neipperg, forming part of an Austrian division, commanded by General Count Bubna, belonging to General Benningsen's army. The Hettman Platoff arrived at the same time with his Cossacks, and, a few moments after, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine.

The enemy, who had abandoned the village of Paunsdorff, vigorously attacked it again with infantry and several batteries. General Bulow's corps, which just came up, was ordered to attack that village. It was carried with great bravery. The enemy commenced a brisk cannonade. Several Russian and Prussian batteries returned the fire, and covered themselves with glory. The Russian cavalry, with Generals O'Rourke, Manteuffel, Pahlen, Bekendorff, and Chostak, at their head, remained several hours exposed to the fire of 100 pieces of artillery, with the most determined contempt of death, which appalled the enemy. Towards three o'clock he began to debouche his masses from the villages of Sellershausen and Volkmersdorff. The Prince Royal ordered the Russian cavalry to charge. The movement of the enemy was slackened, and he lost four pieces of cannon, and re-entered the villages.

The allied columns were moving upon Leipzig, when strong masses of the enemy were seen debouching between Molka and Englesdorff, threatening to turn their left. General Blucher, who happened to be placed before the village of Stetteritz, ordered his troops to make a front movement, which was executed by General Count Neipperg; and the enemy was thus placed in the presence of his division. A Saxon officer of artillery had already passed over to the allies, with ten pieces of cannon. The troops placed at that point did not appear to be sufficiently numerous. It was necessary to reinforce them. The Prince of Hesse Homburg was ordered to proceed thither, and he executed this movement with the precision and regularity of a parade. General Bulow charged and seized the villages of Stuntz and Sellershausen,

hausen, which were strongly occupied and protected with cannon. The resistance was obstinate; the Prussian troops maintained themselves there during the night, in defiance of the repeated efforts of the enemy. This attack decided the results of the day on that side. The enemy, however, continued to advance upon the left of the allies, in order to arrest their march upon Leipzig. As there was a want of artillery in that direction, the Prince Royal directed the Russian General, Baron de Witt, to invite, on his part, the officer commanding the Saxon batteries, to lend the use of his artillery until the arrival of the batteries of the army, which were detained in the defiles. This officer having already served under the Prince, hastened to do so; and the ten pieces, intended a little before to consolidate the slavery of Germany, were afterwards employed to secure its independence. This example should prove to conquerors, that the terror which they inspire terminates with the power which has created it. Colonel Diederichs, commanding the Russian artillery attached to General Bulow's corps, rendered great services on this occasion. Captain Bogue, commanding the English rocket company, signalized himself in like manner. This officer fell in the action, universally lamented.

The enemy in the mean time caused a very considerable corps to debouche from Leipzig by his left, which moved against General Count Langeron. This General, who, with his troops, had displayed great valour in carrying the village of Shonfeld, found it necessary to support General Count de St. Priest, who had no artillery. Twenty Swedish pieces, under the orders of General Cardell, arrived at full gallop, the point secured; and the enemy, by a brisk and continual fire, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. Night coming on, the army bivouacked.

At five o'clock the next morning, the enemy having retired from Volkmersdorff into the suburbs of Leipzig, the Prince Royal ordered General Bulow to carry the city. The latter directed the Prince of Hesse Homburg to make the attack: the division of General Borstell was intended to support it. The gate was protected by a pallisade, and the walls were loop-holed; notwithstanding which, the troops forced their way into the streets,

streets, when the Prince of Hesse Homburg was wounded by a ball. The enemy having occupied all the houses, the conflict became very violent, and remained undecided for some time. A reinforcement of six Swedish battalions which had come up, with a battery, rendered essential service. The Swedish artillery was directed by Major Edenhelm, who was severely wounded. General Borstell took the command in the place of the Prince of Hesse Homburg. He arrived with fresh troops; the city was maintained; and such of the enemy as did not surrender were put to the sword.

Five battalions of Russian chasseurs of the advanced guard of General Woronzoff, had in the mean time advanced to the support of the Prussian and Swedish troops, in the attack of the city. The 14th regiment of chasseurs, led by Colonel Krasowski, carried the gate called Das Grimmische Thor, and took several guns.

General Baron Adlercreutz was at every point where the danger was greatest, inspiring the troops by his valorous example.

As the enemy was obliged to make his retreat by the defiles of Pleisse, the baggage, cannon, and troops, pressed pell mell through the narrow passes which remained open to them, and which were soon choaked up by this general disorder. None thought but of making their own escape. The advanced guards of the army of Silesia, and of Benningesen, entered almost at the same time through the other gates of the city. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal, met in Leipzig after this brilliant victory.

The results of the battles of Leipzig were immense and decisive. Already, on the day of the 13th, the Emperor Napoleon had begun to put his army in retreat by the roads of Lutzen and Weissenfels. He did not quit the place in person until ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Finding that a fire of musquetry had already commenced at the Ranstadt gate, towards Lutzen, he was obliged to depart by the Pegau gate. The allied armies took fifteen generals, and amongst them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d'armée. Prince Poniatowski was drowned in attempting to pass the Elster. The corpse of General Doumourestier, chief of the staff of the 11th corps, was found in the river; and more than

1000 men were drowned in it. The Duke of Bassano escaped on foot. Marshal Ney is supposed to have been wounded. More than 250 pieces of cannon, 900 caissons, and above 15,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy abandoned more than 23,000 sick and wounded, with the whole of the hospital establishment. The total loss of the French army amounted to near 60,000 men.

Such was the result of the great battles of Leipzig, which wholly destroyed the power of Napoleon. "It is inconceivable," says the Crown Prince in his bulletin, "how a man, who commanded in thirty pitched battles, and who had exalted himself by military glory, in appropriating to himself that of all the old French generals, should have been capable of concentrating his army in so unfavourable a position as that in which he had placed it: the Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of 100,000 men and 3000 baggage-waggons. Every one asks—'Is this the great Captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble?'—"

After the battle of Leipzig, the shattered remains of the French army continued to retreat, by forced marches, and in the greatest disorder, followed by the main bodies of the allies. On the 20th of October, the following dispositions were made for the pursuit. The grand army, under Prince Schwartzemberg, was to march upon the enemy's right, in the direction of Frankfort on the Maine, taking the route of Pegau, Zeist, and Ersenburg; the army of General Benningsen, united to the army of the North, and under the orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, was to follow the enemy's centre, in the direction of Lutzen and Merseberg; whilst the army of Silesia, under Marshal Blucher, pursued the enemy in the direction of Merseberg. The intended movement of the main body of the Prince Royal's army was, however, arrested; and his Royal Highness was induced to direct his operations towards Hanover and the North, for the following reasons. Marshal Davoust, who was still in position on the right bank of the Elbe, and who was unwilling to separate from the Danes, had opposed to him the corps of Lieutenant-General Count Walmoden, which was inadequate to act offensively against the

the French and Danes without assistance. The extermination of the enemy in the north of Germany—the possession of Bremen, the mouths of the Weser, and the Elbe—the speedy reduction of Hamburgh—the advantage of opening an immediate communication with England during the winter—the liberation of Hanover—the facility that would be afforded to the future operations of the northern army, either in Holland or on the Rhine, when their rear should have become entirely secure—and, lastly, the hope of cutting off Marshal Davoust completely from Holland, were the united considerations which determined his Royal Highness to alter his proposed movement, and to march his army for Bremen and Hanover. He accordingly transferred his headquarters from Muhlihausen to Dingelstadt on the 29th, on the 30th to Heiligenstadt, and on the 1st of November to Gottingen. Whilst at Heiligenstadt, the Prince Royal received a deputation from the university and magistracy of the city of Gottingen; and, on removing his headquarters to the latter place, he was received by the magistrates and armed burghers at the gates, the town bells ringing during the while, and the air resounding with the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who flocked in crowds to meet his Royal Highness. Young women dressed in white, and with garlands of laurels in their hands, assembled at the former hotel of the prefecturate, where his Royal Highness alighted, and formed a row up the whole of the staircase to his chambers. In the evening the young students came, followed by the burghers of the city with torches and music, to offer their obedience with three cheers. The whole city was illuminated: the streets were filled with spectators, who embraced and wished each other joy, heartily shaking the Swedish soldiers by the hand.

On the 6th of November his Royal Highness arrived at Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived there two days before, went to meet his Royal Highness at the outer part of the suburbs. A considerable corps of armed burghers, with white handkerchiefs round their hats and on their left arms, stood drawn up in parade. The cannon were fired, and all the bells were rung. The windows of the houses were filled with ladies, who, participating in the general joy, saluted the liberator of
their

their native country with the warmest expressions of emotion and gratitude. All the inhabitants of the city and of the adjacent country had assembled in the streets, and who, under the continual reiteration of "Long life to the Prince Royal of Sweden!" accompanied the suite to the palace of Monbrillant, where his Royal Highness descended. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated. A great number of transparencies were exhibited, the sentiments of love and loyalty to the lawful sovereign of the country, of joy for its liberation, and gratitude towards its liberator, were here in many places blended together in one affecting picture. The Swedish army was now resting itself after its fatigue, and for the moment enjoying that repose of which it stood so much in need. It had performed long and fatiguing marches, with worn-out shoes, and clothing in not much better condition, and in bad roads; yet, nevertheless, the Swedish troops at Hanover, about 12,000 men in number, and on which his Royal Highness held a review, appeared to great advantage to the numerous spectators, by their fine conduct and discipline.

The several articles for their re-equipment having arrived, and the army being fully provided with all necessities, prepared to proceed on its glorious career.

The Prince Royal having fixed his head-quarters at Hanover, on the 16th of November he left that place, and arrived at Bremen on the 17th. On the 20th he arrived at Celle, on the 22d at Ueltzen, on the 23d at Luneberg, and on the 29th his head-quarters were at Boitzenberg.

On the 4th of December all the corps of the Prince Royal's army moved forward; and on their crossing the Strecknitz, Marshal Davoust precipitately retired upon Hamburgh, leaving the right wing of the Danish forces, which was posted at Oldeslohe, quite exposed. The French Marshal was pursued by General Woronzoff, who moved beyond Bergedorff, and defeated the whole French cavalry in a sanguinary engagement at Wandsbeck. General Walmoden marched direct upon Oldeslohe; Marshal Stedink manœuvred upon Lubeck; and General Baron Tettenborn, with his light troops, pushed into the interior of Holstein by Trettau, and hung on the flanks and rear of the French cavalry. From the first day, the

last-named officer cut off all communication between the French and the Danes, and took from the latter a considerable number of prisoners, carriages, and ammunition waggons, and likewise intercepted some important dispatches. Prince Frederick of Hesse, commanding the enemy's corps, did not hold out against all these combined movements, but commenced a precipitate retreat on the Eyder. Lubeck was evacuated by the Danes, who were defeated on the 7th of December by the Swedes, and vigorously pursued by General Walmoden, when an obstinate engagement ensued with a part of his troops against the whole Danish army. The action was well-contested, and the Danes were finally obliged to retire to Rendsburg.

The communication between General Dornberg (who had been detached upon the right bank of the Eyder) and General Walmoden being momentarily cut off, and the enemy having been reinforced at Schleswig by four battalions, a regiment of cavalry, and ten pieces of cannon, that arrived from the interior of the country; the critical position of General Dornberg obliged General de Tettenborn to direct his operations towards Schleswig, which place he was preparing to attack, in case the enemy did not accept a summons he had sent him to evacuate the place, when intelligence arrived of the following armistice having been concluded with the Danes by the mediation of Austria.

Suspension of arms between the Allied armies and the Danish forces.

“ It is agreed upon—

“ 1. That all hostilities between the allies and the Danish forces shall cease, from the 15th of this month at midnight, with the exceptions contained in the second article; and the armistice shall be in force until the 20th instant at midnight.

“ 2. Pending the duration of the armistice, the allies shall be at liberty to possess themselves, if they can, of the fortress of Gluckstadt, and that of Friedrickstadt; Prince Frederick of Hesse having declared that it was not in his power to cede those places because they were not under his command.

“ 3. The allied forces shall evacuate the Duchy of Schleswig,

Schleswig, with the exception of the points herebefore mentioned, which shall be occupied by them, as well as all the territory situated between the line which these points form and the Eyder, *viz.* Eckrenforde, Golteburg, Heckeberg, Selk, Hollingstadt, and Husum.

“ 4. The high road of Rendsburg to Schleswig shall be open to couriers. The Danish army shut up in Rendsburg are to draw their means of subsistence by this route alone, for the numbers actually under arms, and the sick in the hospitals. There shall be granted from ten to twelve thousand rations per day; and the Danes are at liberty to provision the place every three days, for which purpose commissaries shall be appointed on both sides, to take cognizance, by approximation, of the rations carried into the place.

“ 5. During the cessation of hostilities there shall not be carried into the place of Rendsburg either ammunition or troops. The garrison is not to be augmented, under any pretext, before the resumption of hostilities. The Commander-in-Chief of the Danish troops, Prince Frederick of Hesse, pledges himself besides, not to add to the fortification of the place, nor construct any flukes, &c. On the other hand, the allied army will not throw up any fortifications whatever against the place; and they shall, during the duration of the armistice, remain behind Swenstedt and Sterfeldt, and Swenburg, towards Holstein, which places shall remain neutral, and on the side of Schleswig, behind Schirnum, Bunsdorf, Duvensadt, Lorsbruck, Holm, and Elsdorf, and they may be occupied by the advanced posts of the place.

“ 6. The garrison of Rendsburg shall not make any sortie, attack, or march against the allied forces, during the armistice; and, on the other part, the allied troops shall not make any attack or march against the place.

“ 7. There shall not be at Schleswig more troops than such as are appointed for the guard of Prince Charles of Hesse, and these shall not exceed 1000 men. Troops coming from the interior shall not proceed beyond Honeburg.

“ 8. The allied army not to augment the number of their forces in the Duchy of Schleswig before the armistice shall have expired.”

During the armistice between the contending armies,

Marshal Davoust, in order to strengthen himself as much as possible in Hamburgh, and to prolong the defence of the place, issued on the 20th of December the following orders:—

“ The following shall leave the city within twenty-four hours, that is, on the 20th, between twelve and two, *viz.* all inhabitants born without the walls of Hamburgh.

“ 1. All foreigners, of both sexes, who have not their usual residence in the city, and have paid no direct tax since the 1st of January 1813.

“ 2. All students born out of Hamburgh.

“ 3. All commercial servants, journeymen, manufacturers, and apprentices, born out of Hamburgh, and not named in the list of the 5th article.

“ 4. All beggars and vagabonds.

“ 5. Excepted from the rest are labourers employed on the fortifications, or other public works, by the engineers or artillery, on the bridges and causeways, and with the civil and military authorities, &c.”

On hearing of the above order, the Prince Royal of Sweden, to his immortal honour, instantly directed the sum of 40,000 dollars to be dedicated to their immediate relief; and subscriptions for the same purpose were opened in different towns on the continent. The following address to the exiled Hamburghers was also issued by order of the Prince:—

“ By an order of the 20th of December, the Prince of Eckmuhl turned you out of your homes and plunged you into misery. Do not give way to despair; be firm, be courageous. As the faithful interpreter of the principles which guide the allied powers, the Prince Royal of Sweden calls you to him, and offers you relief.

“ If it is a misfortune that you were not enabled to provide yourselves and families with provisions for six months, let the consideration that you will not be witnesses to the sufferings which threaten your unfortunate city be your consolation.

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, informed of the measures adopted at Hamburgh, has issued the following orders, which are to be made public in all places occupied by the army under his command, *i. e.* throughout Holstein, and from the gates of Hamburgh to the gates of Old France.

“ Those

“ Those Hamburgers who, in consequence of the orders issued by Marshal Davoust on the 16th of December, have been compelled to leave the city of Hamburg, will be received with every attention by the allied army of the North of Germany. Clothing and provisions will be distributed to them in proportion to their wants.

“ Those among them who choose to contribute towards the liberation of the city of Hamburg from the tyranny under which it groans, will receive arms and pay as the rest of the army. They will form part of the national guard of the city of Hamburg.

“ The aged, the women, and children, shall receive particular protection; their wants shall be supplied.

“ The towns of Oldesloe and Segeberg are fixed upon as rendezvous places for those Hamburgers who choose to join the standard of the troops destined to liberate Hamburg.

“ The cities of Lubeck and Bremen are fixed upon for the reception of the aged, the women, and children.

“ In order that the assistance may be prompt, and that the situation of the unfortunate Hamburgers be immediately meliorated, 40,000 dollars are granted to supply their immediate wants. This first advance shall be drawn from the funds destined for the pay and supplies of the Swedish army. Within forty-eight hours, measures will be taken for the restoration of the advances issued out of the Swedish military chest.

“ The execution of the order shall be intrusted to the care of a special commission. This commission shall consist of three members, *viz.* of an exiled citizen of Hamburg, named by the Chief of the Staff; of an inhabitant of Lubeck, and of one of the city of Bremen, appointed by the magistrates of the respective places.

“ The members of the commission shall proceed to the head-quarters of his Royal Highness, there to receive instructions on the mode of management which they shall have to pursue, in order to give an account of the disposal of the 40,000 dollars, which will be handed over to the commission by the intendant-general of the army. The commission is authorized to afford subsequent relief, after the 40,000 dollars are exhausted.

“ B. SPAARE, Major-General.

“ Head-quarters, Kiel, Dec. 24, 1813.”

The

The armistice not having led to a peace, hostilities were re-commenced; and, in the course of three days, the whole duchy of Schleswig was taken possession of, and over-run in all directions by the light troops under General Tettenborn. The fortress of Rendsburg was so completely invested, that neither the garrison, nor even the cavalry belonging to it, could find an opportunity of making a sally, for which orders had been given on account of the scarcity reigning in the town.

The lists of conquests made by the Prince Royal increased daily. Holstein was conquered; Schleswig over-ran; and General Baron de Tettenborn had established his head-quarters within a mile or two of Colding. At last the King of Denmark was compelled to sue for peace, and to accept of such terms as the allies chose to grant him. Accordingly, on the 14th of January, a treaty of peace was signed between Denmark, Sweden, and Great Britain: by which the former agreed to accept Swedish Pomerania, in lieu of Norway; and, in consideration of a subsidy of £400,000 from Great Britain, to furnish 10,000 men, to co-operate with the allies.

In consequence of the peace with Denmark, a considerable accession of force was placed under the command of the Prince Royal: his army now amounted to 120,000 men, prepared to march against the common enemy, and to unite in the overthrow of the enslaver of the world. On the 17th of January, the Prince Royal issued the following bulletin:—

“ Head-quarters, Kiel, Jan. 17, 1814.

“ The peace of Denmark with Sweden and England was signed on the 14th of January. On Sunday the 16th, there was a grand parade; a solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted by way of thanksgiving; and numerous salutes of artillery were fired. The treaty has been sent to his Majesty the King of Denmark, and the ratification is expected by Wednesday next. The whole army is putting itself in march for the Rhine. There is no longer any rivalry among the nations of the North; they have acknowledged that they have the same interests. United for the noblest object, they will combat together for the liberty of the continent, the independence of sovereigns and of nations. The nations of the North do not look upon the French as enemies; they recognise no other enemy

enemy but him who has done every thing to prevent their union—him who, it cannot be too often repeated, has wished to enslave all nations, and to ravage from all their country.”

The Prince Royal being now, by the peace with Denmark, enabled to direct his victorious steps to the Rhine, and to support the operations of the allies, who were in the heart of France; he accordingly left General Benningsen with 30,000 men to carry on the siege of Ham-burgh, and 5000 of the Russian German Legion to block-ade Harburg, whilst with the remainder he commenced his march for the new scene of his operations.

On the 4th of February, the Prince Royal arrived at Hanover, where he had an interview with the Duke of Cambridge. And on the 10th, his Royal Highness crossed the Rhine in person, with the intention of uniting the whole of his army upon a line between Soissons and Rheims.

On the 1st of February, the head-quarters of the Prince Royal were at Cologne, where he issued the following bulletin:—

“ Head-quarters, Cologne, Feb. 1, 1814.

“ The Prince Royal set out from Buckeburg on the 9th, to proceed by Lipstadt and Charfeldt to Cologne, where his Royal Highness arrived on the 10th, at night. He passed the Rhine amidst the sound of cannon, and both banks resounded with the acclamations of the inhabitants. The whole population of Cologne went out to meet him at the river side; and never was the enthusiasm of a people, delivered from an oppressive yoke, expressed with more unanimity and ardour. The city was illuminated at night. Yesterday there was a grand ball, which his Royal Highness honoured with his presence.

“ As the combined army of the North of Germany is about to commence a more active campaign in these countries, it is necessary to state the march of the different corps that compose it, and the ulterior prospects of the Prince Royal.

“ The corps of General Bulow, forming the right of the army, is in the environs of Brumts, and has pushed its advanced posts in the direction of Mons.

“ General Winzingerode, whose head-quarters are at
Namur,

Namur, forms the centre. He has already got possession of the towns of Mons, Avesnes, and Rheims, of which he has sent the keys to the Prince Royal, who will transmit them to the Emperor Alexander.

"The corps of Count Woronzoff, which has passed the Rhine here, takes also the direction of Namur to come in contact with that of Winzingerode. General Strogonoff is about to follow it.

"The advanced guard of the Swedish army will be on the 21st upon the Rhine, so that the whole army will have passed the river before the end of the month.

"The Danish troops take the rout of Dusseldorff, passing by Bremen and Munster, and will proceed from thence further on the line of operations. The intention of his Royal Highness is to unite the whole army under his orders upon a line between Soissons and Rheims, and then to act according to circumstances."

On the 12th of February the Prince Royal made the following address to the French people; in which he strongly points out the severe miseries of their past situation:—

"To the French People."

"Frenchmen!—At the command of my King I have taken up arms, for the purpose of defending the rights of the Swedish people. After having revenged the insults which they had suffered, and assisted in effecting the liberation of Germany, I have passed the Rhine.

"At a moment when I again see this river, on the borders of which I have so often and so successfully fought for you, I feel the necessity of again apprising you of my sentiments.

"The government under which you live has continually had in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you; it is high time that this state of things undergo an alteration.

"All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of France; but they at the same time wish that she may no longer be the scourge of the earth.

"The allied monarchs have not united themselves to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other states; this is their sole motive and aim, and I will pledge myself for the integrity of their sentiments.

"Adopted

“ Adopted son of Charles XIII. and placed, by the choice of a free people, at the foot of the throne of the Gustavuses, I can henceforward be animated with no other ambition than that of securing the happiness of the Scandinavian peninsula; and at the same time my principal happiness will consist (after having fulfilled this sacred duty to my adopted country) in securing the future happiness of my former countrymen.

“ Given at my head-quarters at Cologne, this 12th of February 1814.

(Signed) “ CHARLES JOHN.”

Shortly after the publication of this document, the Prince Royal of Sweden removed his head-quarters to Liege, where his Royal Highness remained with the Swedish army, whilst the rest of the allies, aided by the Russian troops that had been attached to the army of the North of Germany, vigorously pursued their successes into the very heart of France, and finally put an end to the war. For his inactivity during this important period, the Crown Prince at the time incurred considerable blame; but the reasons of it are stated to be, that at the time of the meeting of the congress at Chatillon, Sweden, as an active member of the confederacy, expected to be invited to send a plenipotentiary; but this not having been done, the Prince Royal remonstrated, but without effect. Besides this cause, another is assigned for his inactivity: the Hanseatic legion, formed in a great measure by the care of his Royal Highness, and paid by England, was, according to conventions that were made, to be united with the army under the Prince's immediate command. Contrary, however, to this convention, at the moment these troops were ready to act, they received another destination, and were employed with the corps under General Bulow. The Prince having represented that these arrangements were contrary to the convention already made, and having received no satisfactory answer, declared that neither he nor his troops should take any active part in the operations till he had obtained what he demanded.

The grand struggle between the allies and France having terminated by the fall of Paris, the subject of this Memoir proceeded to the French capital, where he arrived on the 14th of April; but he had not long been

there, however, before the troubles in Norway occasioned his abrupt departure. He left Paris without paying his personal respects to Louis XVIII. but he dispatched the Marshal Comte de Sterling to compliment his Majesty on his restoration to the throne of his ancestors.

The union of Norway with Sweden was evidently a measure which nothing but the force of circumstances could have accomplished, and it appeared to be as much repugnant to the feelings of the Norwegians, as it was to the Court of Denmark, from whom it was wrested at the very point of the sword. His Danish Majesty, soon after the treaty which forced from him this ancient patrimony of his family, issued a proclamation, in which he very feelingly describes the deplorable situation he was reduced to. After stating that the Austrian mediation, by which Denmark had hoped to obtain some abatement of the sacrifices required of her, had only prevented, for a short time, the progress of the enemy into her territory, it proceeds thus:—

“ Repeated overtures were made by us to the Crown Prince of Sweden; who, at the head of a superior army, composed of several states, continued to insist on the cession of Norway, which Sweden’s allies had guaranteed to him. Hostilities were renewed; Gluckstadt and Frederick’s Ort were taken. Not to hazard every thing, it was requisite to confine our defence chiefly to Fuhnen, whither we ordered all the troops that could be spared from Zealand, and also repaired ourselves, to be nearer the scene of action, and the negotiations.

“ A renewal of the negotiations again averted the attack that approached the frontiers of Jutland. It was not possible to prevent this province from being overcome by a superior force; and if it became, like the duchies, the seat of war, we were wholly deprived of the means of sending corn to Norway. The important moment was now come, to decide concerning peace or the continuation of war. Never was a country in a more critical situation than Denmark—cut off from Norway, and opposed alone to so many powerful states; and never had a Prince a more difficult duty than to make a choice under these circumstances. Had the matter concerned us alone, or had it been merely necessary to meet an imminent danger, if we could have hoped to obtain a happy

happy issue, even by the most terrible conflict, we should not have hesitated; for we knew the courageous sentiments of our troops and of our people, and knew what the latter, though exhausted by a long war, were ready to suffer and to sacrifice for us, and the country, if we called on them. But under such circumstances we would not ask the dissolution of the whole monarchy, nor require a faithful people to shed its blood in an unequal contest, most probably to promote the reverse of the object in view.

“ But the result of the contest was not the only ground for determination. Norway was exposed to the most dreadful famine, if Jutland became the seat of war, and Norway had been deprived of all supplies from that side. According to the reports which we had already received from credible and well-informed persons, not a fourth part of the corn necessary to supply Norway till next autumn had been, with extreme danger and loss, sent over to that country. Even our means of sending corn thither were no longer sufficient; not a fourth part of the vessels that might have formerly been employed for that purpose were now in Danish ports; the rest, with their cargoes, had fallen a prey. The efforts which Denmark had contrived to make were insupportable; they had already cost many millions. A third part of the uncultivated lands in Norway had not been sown last year, for want of seed-corn. All supply in the north or south was impossible, on account of the blockade. To expose Norway again this year to want of seed-corn would have been a ruinous measure; the consequences of which would be incalculable; for if the proportion of corn in Norway were to be annually lessened or obstructed in such a high degree, and the exportation of the products of this kingdom were impeded, the whole circulating property of the state would not have sufficed to purchase bread-corn for it, even had it been possible to get it sent thither. We believed that we could not justify ourselves either before God or man, if we exposed a noble nation to a misfortune which exceeds every other, and which even the sword itself could not have arrested, even if surrounded by our brave troops, according to their wish, and that of all our subjects. We had engaged in the contest, not with one, but with many combined enemies,

mies, far superior in strength. The force already opposed to us, and that which might still be opposed to us, were not to be calculated. Even a victory could not save the whole; and defeat would have brought on greater evils, and rendered all further negotiations impossible. In such a desperate situation, with a tedious defensive war, and at last the universal, the all-devouring flame of war, which had spread over Europe has occasioned, and which, in such adverse circumstances, all our care for the welfare of our faithful subjects has not been able to avert, we have been compelled to embrace the only means which presented itself to save Norway from famine, while Denmark, contending against a superior force, bore alone the burden of the contest, and was exposed to its consequences. Under the pressure of this concurrence of unhappy events, we have been obliged to cede to the Swedish Crown the right to the kingdom of Norway which was inherited by our ancestors.

“ We refrain from describing the melancholy feelings with which we are penetrated at this violent dissolution of the bond of union between the two kingdoms. Every Dane, every Norwegian, will judge of them by his own. The fate of empires is in the hand of Providence.

“ During the seven years that the conflict has lasted, we have neglected nothing to preserve the bond which was made sacred by the lapse of so many centuries, and by the fidelity of the Norwegians. The first injury it received was when the state was deprived of its fleet, and, with that, of the means of making one country to assist the other. The combination of all the powers that surround the monarchy has promoted the dissolution.

“ We have, however, provided that, under the government which takes our place, every inhabitant of Norway, according to his rank and condition, shall enjoy and preserve the rights and privileges which he now possesses.

“ We never can, never will, forget the loyalty and attachment to us, and our house, of which the noble people of Norway, at all times, and under all circumstances, have given such affecting proofs. So long as loyalty shall be held a virtue in nations, so long will the Norwegians be named as those who equalled or surpassed every other in the practice of this virtue.

“ We

“ We and our ancestors have ever governed Norway with paternal regard. In the latter years of distress, Denmark willingly gave the corn which its Norwegian brethren were in want of. It is our most sincere prayer, that happiness and prosperity may, to the most distant ages, be the lot of the brave and generous Norwegian people.

“ FREDERICK REX.

“ Middlefort, Jan. 18, 1814.”

This document strongly proves the reluctance of Denmark to the measures that were forced upon her; and at the same time, from its peculiar language, it was calculated to make a deep impression upon Norway. It appears that, even during the negotiation which severed the two countries, the Norwegian nobility and gentry, whose ancient antipathy to the Swedes has been strikingly manifested on many important occasions, transmitted a confidential messenger to the Danish Crown Prince Christian, requesting his immediate presence in that country. He accordingly repaired thither early in the year 1814, and was soon after proclaimed King of Norway; which country was also declared an independent state, and preparations were immediately made for a vigorous defence. Proclamations were issued, exhorting the people to learn the use of arms, and to sacrifice every thing to obtain and preserve their independence. In this state were affairs when, on the 24th of February, Count Axel Rosen, who had been commissioned on the part of the Swedish government to execute the treaty of peace, arrived at Christiana for that purpose.

In the interview which he had with Prince Christian Frederick, the latter had invited the chief officers of the state to be present at the audience. When Count Rosen entered, accompanied by Colonel Skiolderbrant, he appeared surprised at the presence of so many witnesses to an audience which he expected to be private. After returning thanks for the good reception he had hitherto met with on his journey, he produced a letter from Field-Marshal Von Essen to the Prince, in which Rosen was invested with full powers to act in his name, at the same time to bring the proclamation of the King of Sweden to the people of Norway. Hereupon the Prince said—“ In the present situation of affairs, I cannot receive

ceive this Proclamation of his Swedish Majesty to the Norwegians, and must, in lieu of all other answer, communicate to you the declaration which I have made in the face of all Europe, and which I shall not fail to communicate likewise to his Swedish Majesty."

Then the Prince read his declaration of the 19th February, by which Norway declares itself independent; and then he added his solemn assurance, "That the Norwegian nation considered itself at peace with all other nations, and would regard as its enemy only that which should violate its rights."

Count Rosen.—"After such an unexpected declaration as that which I have just heard, nothing remains for me to do but to return immediately; and I beg your Royal Highness's permission to do so."

The Prince.—"Before we part, Count, permit me to ask you, not as a Prince, but as a Norwegian speaking to a Swede, this one question—Must we not take it for granted, that the King of Sweden desires the good of a nation which he desires to possess?"

Count Rosen.—"Undoubtedly, your Royal Highness; if I had been received in another manner, I should have shewn that I have ample proofs in my hands."

The Prince.—"But, on this supposition, must not the national opinion, the general will, be consulted to learn what we consider as happiness?"

Count Rosen.—"His Majesty would have done this through the medium of his Governor-General."

The Prince.—"But, first of all, the nation must be gained; and what means has the Swedish Government employed? it had formed the plan of starving the nation whom it wished to gain."

Count Rosen.—"I cannot judge of the means which his Majesty and the Crown Prince have thought fit to employ."

The Prince.—"And what has been the consequence? That the national opinion, or the national hatred, to call it by its right name, has risen to the highest pitch; and that the strictest measures of the government can alone hinder it from breaking out. But since the King of Sweden has sent us so enlightened a man as you, Count, I will request you to convince yourself of the national opinion, and to give a faithful account of it to your
King.

King. This might, perhaps, make a desirable impression on a sovereign who can desire nothing except the welfare of his people. I wish nothing so much as peace with Sweden; and intended to send Count Schmettau to Stockholm for this purpose. Have the goodness to use your influence to procure a passport for him."

Count Rosen.—"The King, my master, would certainly not allow me to take a commission from your Royal Highness; you will, therefore, permit me to withdraw, and to express to your Royal Highness, my regret at not being able to express my respect for your Royal Highness under happier circumstances."

The Prince.—"I am sorry, Count, that you must so soon leave us, and beg you to be convinced that you shall always be welcome in Norway as a Swede, who will be our friend, and recognise our rights."

Thereupon Count Rosen left the audience-room.

This unexpected resistance on the part of the Norwegians produced the most lively emotions at Stockholm. Strong measures were immediately resorted to, to carry the treaty with Denmark into effect by force of arms. His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden marched his army, as soon as the season would permit, from the plains of Holstein and Schleswig to the south of Sweden; whence, after a short repose, they were marched to the Norwegian frontiers. Overawed by these measures, and the general confederacy that was formed against them, the Norwegians resolved to implore the assistance of England; but as Great Britain, by treaty, was bound to assist in the measures that were pursued, she could render no assistance to them. Unwilling, however, to suffer a brave and courageous people to be subjugated without hearing their complaints, the British government interfered so far as to induce the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm to join with it in sending commissioners to the Norwegian head-quarters, to try if matters could not be amicably adjusted without having recourse to arms. After considerable delay, the commissioners arrived at Christiana, the capital of Norway, on the 30th of June; and on the 7th of July they had an audience with Prince Christian, in which they stated, that the allied powers considered the union of Norway to Sweden

den as one of the bases of the new system of equilibrium, as a branch of indemnities which it was impossible to replace by any other: that, in order to compel submission to their views, an army of 40,000 Russians and Prussians under General Benningsen were ready to co-operate with the Crown Prince of Sweden: that, as Prince Christian had represented his readiness to surrender into the hands of the Diet the authority with which the nation had invested him, they signified their acquiescence in a truce for the purpose of convoking the Diet, on condition that the Swedish troops should be put in possession of the fortresses of Frederickstadt, Frederickshall, and Konsvinger.

To these requirements the Prince replied, that Norway, when released from its engagements with Denmark, had a right to form itself into an independent state. He appealed to the great European powers, by reminding them of the generous efforts in support of the principle in Spain and Germany; stated it to be his intention to make known to the nation the dangers to which it was exposed; and acknowledged the great advantages that must be secured to it on its acceding to a constitutional union with Sweden; but added, "that, faithful to his engagements, he will never separate his fate from that of Norway, in the event of a brave, though useless resistance." He agreed to the evacuation of the fortresses above-mentioned by his troops, but not to their occupation by the Swedes, whose entrance, he said, would be a signal for the general rising of the people.

This reply not agreeing with the concessions demanded, the envoys had their audience of leave on the 17th of July, and on the same day returned towards Sweden.

In the mean time the Crown Prince made the most active exertions to enforce the conditions of the treaty. On the 19th he arrived at Gottenburgh, from Stockholm, where he found himself at the head of 40,000 men. His first act was to issue a proclamation to the Norwegians; but this produced little effect. Previous to the actual commencement of hostilities, the following letters passed between Prince Christian and the Crown Prince.

From

From Prince Christian Frederick to the Crown Prince.

"SIR AND COUSIN—It is to an adversary, whose esteem and confidence I should be happy to gain, that I now address myself. I annex herewith a copy of my letter to his Majesty the King of Sweden; it bears the impression of my sentiments, and states the personal sacrifices which I shall be ready to make, in order to secure peace to the North. The Norwegian nation will decide, whether it will prefer war against the united forces of Europe to the fate proposed to it: I shall faithfully represent to it the chances which await it.

"You may conquer Norway, but you will reign over subjects the enemies of their oppressors; by methods of mildness and humanity, accompanied with the regard due to public opinion, you might hope to secure the repose and happiness of the Scandinavian nation. Make your election, my Prince; and doubt not that you will ever find me in the path of duty, at the head of the people who defended their independence, or a sincere mediator, when proper attention is paid to their rights and their happiness.

"I subscribe myself, Sir and Cousin, your very affectionate,

"CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

"Christiana, July 13, 1814."

Answer.

"SIR AND COUSIN—I hasten to reply to your letter of the 13th, which was only delivered to me this day, and to which is annexed a copy of that which you have written to his Majesty the King my Sovereign.

"The Norwegian nation, seduced by a Danish Prince who should have averted from them the calamities of a disastrous war, may still remain blinded for a time; but, faithful and frank, they will soon acknowledge their duties to their legitimate sovereign, and will know how to punish those who led them astray. The King my Sovereign is ready to grant that virtuous people even more than they can reasonably demand; but it is with the Norwegians alone that his Majesty will treat, and not with illegitimate authorities, whom he neither can or ought to acknowledge, and who have an interest diametrically opposite to the prosperity and glory of Norway. As a Danish Prince, you ought to know the duties

thereto attached; as a faithful and loyal subject, it became you to obey the Sovereign who had placed you at the head of the Norwegian government, and not to take advantage of that authority to introduce civil war into the North. I never intended to unite Norway by force of arms: I aspired after a milder conquest. The nations whom the events of war have subjected to my administration do justice to the principles which have directed my government; and that public opinion, of which you speak, and which will govern the world, has already pronounced against you.

“The repose and tranquillity of the Scandinavian people are my only object; and I am willing, Prince, at the expence of my blood, to secure their happiness, their independence, and their liberty.

“A man makes no sacrifice when he resigns an usurped authority; nor is he in the path of duty when he sets at nought the sanctity of treaties, and the social laws which form their basis.

“Prince, I go to execute the orders of my King; and I shall never cease repeating to the Swedes, that they ought to stretch out their arms to the good Norwegians, and never confound them with the rebels and foreigners whom they march to combat.

“I am, Sir, and Cousin, your affectionate,

“CHARLES JOHN.

“Head-quarters at Gottenburgh, July 20, 1814.”

Military operations commenced on the 26th of July, by the advance of the Swedish flotilla against that of Norway, which latter was compelled to take shelter under the batteries of Frederickstadt. In the mean time, the first division of the Swedish troops, under Field-Marshal Count Essen, 20,000 strong, crossed the frontiers on the 20th, followed by the main army, under the Crown Prince; whilst a smaller body under Major General Gahn entered Norway a little further to the northward.

For a due knowledge of the subsequent operations, we cannot do better than give the following bulletins of the Crown Prince.

“Head-quarters, Frederickstadt, August 11.

“On the 2d, Major-General Gahn, who had at first with 1400 men repulsed the enemy, failed in forcing him from a strong

a strong position, and fell back to Malmet, without being pursued. He had 31 killed and 70 wounded. The enemy's loss was much greater.

"The next day the enemy, by a circuitous route, having got in his rear with 3000 men and 6 pieces of cannon, General Gahn, who had detached a division to cover the baggage, and had now only 1000 men and 4 pieces of cannon, was forced to retreat. The detachment with the baggage was attacked by 1000 men. The combat was bloody. Captain Kederstierna, commanding the artillery, lost 26 horses and 32 men of the train. Our troops were several times obliged to force their way with the bayonet through the enemy's ranks. After five hours firing; the ammunition being expended, the combat ceased. The enemy returned to his old position at Leir and Koningswinger. General Gahn lost in this affair a three-pounder, 20 baggage-waggons, four officers, and 240 men killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy acknowledged their loss to be very considerable. We took 34 prisoners, among them one officer and four serjeants. Mr. E. Von Eckstadt, Judge of Carlstadt, whose zeal had induced him to follow General Gahn, to see the provisioning of the troops, was killed in the heat of the action. A considerable force is going to that quarter; 6000 men are collecting at Eda, to penetrate into the interior of Norway, under Lieutenant-General Baron Skioldebrand, unless the union should be amicably effected.

"On the 6th, a deputation from Frederickshall waited on his Royal Highness, who then removed his headquarters to Ingedol.

"General Baron Vegesack was ordered to force a strong position taken by the enemy at Rackestad, who, with 3000 men and four cannon, defended the great bridge. The General, by sending a detachment to amuse the enemy, contrived to throw a bridge over the stream on his right flank, by which two detachments under Major Vegesack crossed, and attacked with the bayonet the enemy who came to impede them; the enemy was repulsed, and so warmly pursued, that he with difficulty saved his cannon, and left one powder-waggon. A bridge was also thrown over opposite the enemy's centre, who was forced to quit his position: but the ground being favourable, he for some time maintained himself in the

woods, but was driven from thence by Captain Bergenstrål; and this flight became general. We lost 11 killed and 36 wounded. The enemy's loss is above 150 killed and wounded, and 40 prisoners, of whom one is a Captain.

" On the 7th, his Royal Highness moved his headquarters to Frederickstadt, the inhabitants of which took the oath of allegiance, and this evening spontaneously illuminated the town.

" On the 8th, General Von Essen sent a detachment to take possession of Thuno. We are getting up five eighteen-pounders, which the enemy threw into the sea on quitting Sandnosand in the night. He also sunk a vessel, in which we found four cannon, &c.

" His Royal Highness ordered General Count Morner to drive the enemy from Roton. The General repaired to the island with four battalions and six guns. Colonel Hay was sent with a battalion to reconnoitre the bridge at Kjolberg. After driving the enemy from Glumminge, the General bivouacked there.

" On the 9th, his Majesty came to Frederickstadt, just as the Crown Prince was going on board to visit him. His Majesty was in excellent health, and was saluted by the gun-boats and the batteries on shore.

" Generals Vegesack and Caderstrom arrived the evening before at Askim, and bivouacked opposite a battery which the enemy had thrown up at Langonas, to defend the passage over the Glommen. Four pieces of cannon in a *tête de pont*, and five on the other side of the inlet, defended the passage. A strong reconnoitring party of enemy was repulsed; and we sent a detachment to reconnoitre, which drove him quite up to his entrenchments. Our object being attained, we resumed our position. Our loss was 60 killed and wounded; that of the enemy was great. In the night he quitted the *tête de pont* at Langonas, and sunk two of his guns. General Count Morner forced the enemy to abandon Roton, and pursued him to Kjolberg bridge, which he broke down, and made a stand, protected by a battery, till our cannon came up, when he retreated after a short resistance. We took 40 prisoners.

" On the 10th his Majesty returned on board the Gustavus; and as the fleet (now that Kragero and Frederickstadt are taken) will be divided into squadrons, his Majesty

jesty went to Stromstad, and thence to Uddewalla, to take the benefit of sea-bathing. His Majesty has made several naval promotions.

“ We are now masters of the left bank of the Glommen, from Lake Oejorn to Frederickstadt. General Vegesack and Cederstrom are at Askim; General Kederstierna, at Groensund; Count Essen’s head-quarters are at Hafslund. A corps is to be detached by Aamark, Oubro, Orvalskeg, and Ramskog, to join General Gahn. The fleet goes up Christianfeorde, to support the army.

“ The unfavourable reports spread by ill-designing men, concerning the Swedes, are fully contradicted by the behaviour of the troops; the affability of the Crown Prince gains all hearts. The clergy, excepting one bishop, who is a Dane, and three or four others led by him, have behaved as becomes their calling. The soldiers and peasants desert the enemy in numbers, and return home. The Danish generals and officers at the head of the Norwegian troops, do all they can to keep the army and the people in ignorance; but the moment is at hand, when the army and the people will be revenged. Women with Swedish proclamations pass over advanced posts to seek their husbands, and bring them back to their families.

“ The inhabitants of the towns and villages return home in crowds, and desire to take the oath of allegiance to their lawful King. All indicate that the object will soon be obtained, which will insure for ever the repose and happiness of the Scandinavians.

“ On the 11th of August General Vegesack attacked 2000 of the enemy at Trogstadt, and took 200 prisoners. Aldercreutz has forced the enemy to abandon the island of Runo, and retire beyond the Glommen. Admiral Werseen has taken the fortress of Heswig, where the enemy left 14 eighteen-pounders. This advantage opens to us the road to Moss.”

Shortly after the publication of this bulletin another appeared, the substance of which it will be only necessary to give. It is as follows:—

“ 10th August.—General Adlercreutz forced the strong position of the enemy at Isebro with a trifling loss.

“ General Count Essen is nominated by the King, Governor-

Governor-General of Norway, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of the parts occupied by us.

" 11th.—Rear Admiral Worseen took possession of the port and batteries of Schleswig, which the enemy had abandoned. General Baron Vegesack defeated, at Hjornvel, the enemy, who, being reinforced from Kongsurngen, had 6000 men and 10 pieces of cannon. We took 2000 prisoners: our loss was 4 killed, and 8 wounded. The enemy, whose loss was very great, fled on the road to Blakin. General Vegesack left the fifth brigade at Frogstadt, to defend the pass of Ladke.

" 12th.—General Vegesack went to Onstasund, to prepare to force the passage of the Glommen. The Norwegian division of Colonel Stayels having fought bravely against General Gahn, declared that, having shewn they could fight, they should live as brethren with the Swedes, as they considered the union with Sweden as a happy event for Norway, and would not fight in an unjust cause.

" 13th.—The bombardment of Frederickstein was commenced.

" 14th.—Major-General Count Morner was ordered to force the passage of Kgolberg; which, notwithstanding a brave resistance, was effected with inconsiderable loss.

" His Royal Highness the Crown Prince made dispositions to surround the army of Prince Christian, in the position between Moss Isebro and Kgolbergsho, with a very superior force; so that Prince Christian's army, which would have been attacked at the same time in front, in rear, and on both flanks, must inevitably have been destroyed, even if it had fought with the greatest bravery. Prince Christian made proposals: had a battle taken place, the result was not doubtful, but it would have cost many lives, and spread mourning over the two kingdoms. The Crown Prince accepted the proposals.

" 15th.—Generals Skioldebrand and Bjonshima returned from Moss, whither they had been to inform Prince Christian of the Crown Prince's resolution on his proposals. Prince Christian resigns the government. The naval expedition against Boyen will be countermanded in time. General Suremain was just giving orders to plant the scaling ladders against Frederickshall, when the commandant received Prince Christian's order to surrender

render the place; the garrison, consisting of 1100 men, return to their homes full of joy: their Governor-General Ohine is a Dane, and had great difficulty in keeping them in order. The Diet will be assembled without delay: the union of Sweden and Norway will be effected, and restore the peace of the North. His Royal Highness the Crown Prince has expressed his high satisfaction with the Field-Marshal and the whole army, and also with the Admiral and officers of the navy.

“ Head-quarters, Frederickstadt, August 16, 1814.”

Convention

Between his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden in the name of the King of Sweden on the one part, and the Norwegian Government on the other part, concluded at Moss, August 14.

“ Art. 1. His Royal Highness Prince Christian shall, as soon as possible, convoke the States-General of the Kingdom of Norway, according to the mode prescribed by the existing constitution. The Diet shall be opened on the last day of September; or, if this be impracticable, within the first eight days of October.

“ Art. 2. His Majesty the King of Sweden shall communicate directly with the Diet by one or more Commissioners, whom he shall appoint.

“ Art. 3. His Majesty the King of Sweden promises to accept the Constitution formed by the Deputies of Ewswold. His Majesty will propose such changes only as are necessary to the union of the two kingdoms, and engages to make none other but in concert with the Diet.

“ Art. 4. The promises of his Swedish Majesty, and of the Prince Royal, to the Norwegian people, shall be strictly fulfilled, and confirmed by his Majesty to the Norwegian Diet.

“ Art. 5. The Diet shall assemble at Christiana.

“ Art. 6. His Majesty the King of Sweden declares, that no person shall be molested, directly or indirectly, for any opinions heretofore expressed adverse to the union of the two kingdoms. The Norwegian civil and military functionaries, or those who are foreigners, shall be treated with all regard and courtesy: none of them shall be harassed for his opinion. Those who decline continuing
their

their services shall be pensioned according to the laws of the country.

“ Art. 7. His Majesty the King of Sweden shall employ his good offices with his Majesty the King of Denmark, to procure the revocation of the ordinances or edicts promulgated since January 14, 1814, against the public functionaries, and the kingdom of Norway in general.

“ Done at Moss, August 14, 1814.

“ Ratified, “ CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.”

Convention

Between the Swedish and Norwegian troops, concluded at Moss, August 14.

“ Art. 1. Hostilities shall cease by sea and land between the Swedish troops and fleets on one side, and the Norwegian troops and fleets on the other, from the day of signing the present convention, till fifteen days after the opening of the Diet, with eight days notification beyond that time.

“ 2. The blockade of the Norwegian ports shall be raised, from the day of signing these presents. Importation and exportation shall be free, regard being had to the Norwegian custom and duties.

“ 3. If the fortress of Frederickstein has not already capitulated, it shall be immediately surrendered, with the works thereunto belonging, to the troops of his Swedish Majesty. The garrison shall march out of the fortress with arms, baggage, and all military honours. The officers shall be permitted to go where they think proper; the soldiers shall return to their houses: both shall promise not again to serve against the troops of his Swedish Majesty.

“ 4, and 5. These articles trace the line of demarcation; stipulate that the Norwegian national troops shall be disbanded, and return to their respective provinces; that only four regiments and a brigade of artillery shall be maintained.

“ 6. Only two Swedish divisions, with a proportion of cavalry and artillery, shall remain in Norway. The rest of the Swedish army shall return to their respective provinces: that only four regiments and a brigade of artillery shall be maintained.

“ 7. The

“ 7. The part of the Norwegian army remaining under arms shall retire within the line of demarcation in two days. The Swedish army returning home shall commence its movement as soon as possible.

“ Articles 8 and 9 provide for the reciprocal restoration of harmony between the two armies; for the discontinuance of contributions and requisitions; and for the liberation of prisoners.

“ Art. 10 stipulates, with a view to the freedom of deliberation at the Diet, that neither the Swedish nor the Norwegian troops shall approach within three miles of the place of its sitting.

“ 11. To prevent any farther effusion of blood, a provisional armistice shall be instantly signed.

“ 12. The Norwegian flag to be respected during the continuation of the armistice.

“ Ratified, CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

“ I ratify the present Convention, and seize with pleasure this first opportunity of giving a proof of my sentiments towards the Norwegian nation and army.

(Signed) “ CHARLES JOHN.”

The war having thus terminated without much effusion of blood, Prince Christian issued the following proclamation to the Norwegians:—

“ Norwegians!—When, upon the dissolution of your union with Denmark, we took upon ourself the direction of the affairs of Norway, it was to prevent your beloved country from being torn to pieces by civil war and faction. Your wishes called us to the throne of Norway. We obeyed the call. Your confidence and your good cause demanded our participation. We resolved to make every personal sacrifice in order to secure to you those benefits.

“ It is true, we were aware of the dangers which threatened your hopes and our's in such an unequal contest, but we could not possibly conceive that the most powerful states of Europe would combine to oppose a noble and innocent people, whose reasonable wish was liberty, and whose only desire was independence. Meanwhile Sweden's powerful allies informed us by their envoys, that the union of Norway with Sweden was irrevocably determined on. It is known to you that we were willing to sacrifice our happy situation, if the

great assembly of the nation should find it conducive to the happiness of the country; but you likewise know that the conditions upon which an armistice was at that time offered were such that we could not accede to them, till the fortune of war had been tried, because they were contrary to the fundamental laws. We saw with regret that our sincere endeavours to avoid a war in the north were fruitless.

“ The extensive frontiers and sea-coast of Norway made it necessary to divide the troops. Sweden made great exertions to arm at different points; and, in the uncertainty on what part of the kingdom the attack might be expected, from which we could cover the interior provinces of the kingdom, and at the same time hasten to the assistance of such points as were threatened or attacked—in all these respects Glommen seemed to present the most advantages.

“ On being informed of the enemy's invasion by Ide, Sletten, and Swinesund, we hastened to collect a corps at Rackestadt, in order, by an attack from that side, to stop the further progress of the enemy: but the unexpected surrender of Frederickstadt obliged us to take a position on the Glommen, the enemy having obtained a secure passage, so that the road to Christiana might be forced.

“ The enemy being superior at sea, had it in his power by frequent landings to turn our right. A long blockade by the English and Swedish naval force had hindered us from furnishing our magazines in a sufficient manner; they were nearly exhausted: and want of the first necessities threatened to break that courage which the superior force of the enemy could not bend. The deputies from the Diet were not received by the English ministry, and therefore returned without any hope of assistance or relaxation of the inimical measures of that kingdom. Under these circumstances Sweden proposed an armistice. Of the two fortresses, the occupation of which by Swedish troops had been refused by the negotiations that were broken off, one was already in their hands, and the other cut off from all relief and bombarded. The fortune of war had declared against us; and the continuation of the contest would, in such circumstances, have led only to the total ruin of our country.

country. To prevent this, and to give the nation an opportunity of learning the condition of the kingdom by a meeting of the Diet, we repeated our offer of voluntarily retiring from that happy situation to which your confidence had called us.

“ The armistice and convention of the 14th instant were signed ; and in consequence thereof, we have, by our rescript of this day, directed to the chief magistrates, caused our extraordinary Diet to be summoned to meet at Christiana, on Friday the 7th of October, this year.

“ Beloved people of Norway, only imperious necessity—this you cannot doubt—could have induced us to take a step which your attachment to us renders doubly painful. Our desire was to deserve your love ; our comfort is the conviction of your sentiments, and the consciousness that your welfare was the object of all our actions.

“ Given at Moss, August 16, 1814, under our hands and the seal of the kingdom.

“ CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.
(L. S.) “ VON HOLTEN.”

The affairs of Norway being thus settled, and the union of that kingdom with Sweden fully accomplished, no other event of any consequence in the life of the Crown Prince has subsequently occurred ; we shall, therefore, close his Memoirs with a few observations, which naturally arise out of the subject.

Of all the French Marshals, Bernadotte appears to have arrived at the greatest pitch of eminence, not excepting the present King of Naples ; it however yet remains to be seen whether his dynasty will ever actually possess the Swedish crown. His conduct throughout the whole of his brilliant career appears entitled to every commendation ; and that he possesses talents and abilities of the very first rate, is what even his enemies cannot but concede to him.

To his admirers we cannot present a more pleasing picture of his character, than that which is drawn by the Madame La Baronne de Staël Holstein, who, in speaking of him, says—

“ It is, perhaps, your least praise, that even among brave men you are distinguished by courage and intrepidity ;

pidity; qualities which in you are tempered by a goodness still more sublime. The blood of the warrior, the tears of the poor, even the apprehensions of the public, are the objects of your watchful humanity; you fear but to witness the sufferings of your fellow-creatures. An exalted station has not effaced from your heart its tenderness or sympathy.

“ It has been said by a Frenchman, that your Royal Highness unites the chivalry of republicanism with that of royalty; and it is, indeed, impossible to imagine a degree of generosity not congenial to your character. In the relations of society you are far from imposing restraint by an unnecessary reserve; and it is perhaps not too much to affirm, that you could win the suffrages of a whole nation, one after the other, if every individual of which it was composed had the privilege of conversing with you for a quarter of an hour. Yet to this graceful affability you add that masculine energy which extorts confidence from all superior minds.

“ The Swedes, once so celebrated for their gallant achievements, inheriting the noble qualities of their ancestors, hail you as the presage of returning glory. By you, Sir, their rights are respected, no less from principle than from inclination. Under circumstances of peculiar delicacy, you have repeatedly shewn that you were as zealous to guard the bulwarks of the constitution, as other princes have been anxious to infringe them. Accustomed to find in these duties no invidious restriction, but a safeguard and support, you have uniformly shewn such a deference for the king’s wisdom and experience, as throws a new lustre on the power committed to your trust. Pursue, Sir, the career which presents so glorious a prospect to your view, and you shall teach the world, what it has hitherto been slow to learn—that real intellectual greatness includes moral excellence; and that the hero who is truly magnanimous, far from despising the human race, believes he is superior to other men, only because he is able to sacrifice his interests for their welfare.”

The services which the Crown Prince has performed for his country, and the world, cannot be too highly appreciated: they in an especial manner drew upon him the hatred and abuse of Buonaparte; and, in one of
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the addresses of the French Senate to the Empress, alluding to Bernadotte, they say—

“ A traitor whom France had nourished in her bosom, now forgetting her favours, marches in the ranks of her enemies. The audacious man, decorated with a title which he alone owes to the *éclat* of the victories of our arms—clothed with a power which he ought to employ for supporting the true interests of Sweden, connected with the French cause—advances in the guilty hope of being one day able to tear the bosom of his country. A perfidious compact, contrary to the rights of all nations, and by which England has disposed to the nation whom he deceives a colony which ought to be a pledge for peace, has already paid his infamous desertion. But a day will come when all traitors shall be punished. The thunder which struck Moreau is not yet spent; and God, the protector of the empire, has fixed the moment when the fall of that dishonoured warrior shall give a new example to the world.”

Indeed, no means were left untried to sink his character in the estimation of the world, and to blacken that fair reputation which he had so gloriously acquired. The *Moniteur*, in particular, contained a most abusive article against him; to the following effect:—

“ The Prince of Sweden has, for some time, been issuing publications, which may literally be denominated pamphlets. It is inconceivable that this Prince should so far forget the rank to which he has been raised, as to sign productions issuing from the brains of a Kotzebue, a Schlegel, a Sarrazin, or a Goldsmith. The public asks, with astonishment, Is not this the same Prince of Ponte Corvo, whom the French government deigned to appoint Marshal, and has since loaded with favours and gifts? Is he not the same Marshal who, in Hamburgh, Hanover, and Elbing, imposed such heavy contributions merely to fill his private coffers? Is he not that Bernadotte, that violent jacobin, who, during his legation to the Court of Vienna, displayed the tri-coloured flag, and occasioned his expulsion from that city? Is he not the same Bernadotte, whose principles France contemns, and who, but for the indulgence and protection of the Emperor Napoleon, who generously forgave his errors in consideration
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of his alliance with his family, must now have been grovelling in the dust?

“Assuredly this is the very same man—he who owes his elevation to the throne of Sweden only to the admiration and regard which the power and successes of France had excited in Sweden and who could not have seated himself in that throne but with the permission and consent of France.

“It shocks us to behold ingratitude, degradation, and disregard of every honourable feeling, carried to such an extreme.

“According to the opinion of persons who have the best means of information, the reason of this conduct is, that, being paid by England, it has been imposed upon him as a duty, to degrade himself, and to break for ever with France; and with this view he has been led to accept Guadaloupe, a French possession, and has promised to sign all the libels that the English may think proper to compose.

“Some deem it quite natural, that the Prince of Sweden, like all other renegadoes, should figure as the most violent enemy of his country. Others, in short, think that this Prince is rather to be pitied, inasmuch as his mother having been deranged, and some of his brothers and sisters being actually insane, he may have been impelled to his present line of conduct by attacks of the same malady.

“The destiny of Sweden, in fact, is truly singular. She expels from the throne a Prince of disordered intellect, and calls to it a French General, who, born a Catholic, is compelled, as the first act of his government, to abjure his religion;—and this same General, the twentieth only in rank in the French army, whose principles and moral character are held in such slight estimation in his native country, is the son and brother of lunatics, and already begins himself to experience the attacks of that malady.”

Although this tirade of abuse could scarcely deserve any thing else but silent contempt, yet it became due to his character to notice it in some shape or other. Accordingly, it was replied to in a most eloquent letter to Buonaparte, in which the author (for it does not appear to be written by the Crown Prince) says—“It contains a
tissue

tissue of calumny and vulgar abuse which could only fill with disgust every honourable mind. Whoever was its compiler, none but Buonaparte himself could have dictated it; that personage is known as a writer, his style cannot be mistaken. It is not with a pen that he writes against his enemies, that is, against every man of principle, or who dares to oppose his will: a pen dipped in gall would be too feeble an image, it is with the axe of the executioner that he appears to rough hew the violent and abrupt expressions of his sanguinary tirades. The writer goes on to say—

“ In your *Moniteur*, you did not say one syllable about the interview at Abo; the treaties between Sweden, Russia, and England; on the arrival of the Prince Royal in Germany, at the head of a Scandinavian army; on the conferences at Treachenberg; or on the enthusiasm with which that Prince was received by the people of Germany. You made such a secret of the true state of affairs, that French officers, brought in as prisoners immediately after the expiration of the armistice to the camp of the combined army of the North of Germany, were astonished at their seeing Swedish soldiers, being still ignorant that France was at war with Sweden. I admire your prudence. You know that the name of the Prince Royal of Sweden would make a profound impression on real French hearts; that it would awaken recollections dangerous to you.”

On the charge of libellist, the author observes as follows—“ The Imperial Gazette writer, or the Journalist Emperor, affirms, with unequalled impudence, that the Prince Royal of Sweden, for some time past, has subscribed with his name writings which deserve to be characterized as libels; and that he employs mercenary authors for their production. The Prince Royal, however, has no occasion to borrow the pen of any man; he knows how to wield the pen as well as the sword, and with both he has directed destructive blows against you.”

In the course of his observations on the career of the Prince Royal, during the French revolution, and after Buonaparte had assumed the supreme power, the author relates the following anecdote. “ The Prince Royal, then General Bernadotte, did not act against the usurper,
but

but he did not conceal his sentiments. Buonaparte feared him, and neglected no means of disarming his opposition, and of preventing the true friends of their country from rallying around him. During one of those ceremonies which Buonaparte instituted, to habituate the French to the return of monarchical forms, he observed with satisfaction to General Bernadotte, 'Every thing reverts into the old order of things.' 'Yes, Citizen Consul,' replied the latter, 'every thing does revert; nothing is wanting thereto, but a million of Frenchmen, who perished for the cause of liberty.'—

After passing a high encomium on the disinterestedness, the urbanity, and moderation displayed by the Prince Royal, during the campaigns of a twenty years' war, which had generally assumed the character of a gloomy violence, the author proceeds as follows:—

"You make a merit of not having retained the Prince Royal in France, when he was invited to the succession to the Swedish throne. No doubt, after having usurped the sole disposal of the existence of so many millions of Frenchmen, whom you permit neither to think, act, write, speak, nor even breathe freely, you might as well extend your claims thus far also; after other unheard-of violences, you might have practised this too. Why, then, don't you also boast of not having caused the Prince Royal to be assassinated at the moment of his departure? We know you wished to cause the destruction of Moreau, but that you dared not. Perhaps, also, on second thought, you deemed it less dangerous to have an antagonist without, than to raise up one within France, or to push a man of energy to extremities.

"But what indiscreet fit of hypocrisy was it which induced you to reproach the Prince Royal for having adopted the religion established in Sweden for three centuries past? Truly, the zealous Catholic must feel highly edified! The reproach well becomes your mouth, who were a renegado in Egypt; the impostor who wished to pass for a prophet of Mahomet—the same man who, returned to France, affected great zeal for the re-establishment of Catholicism—who engaged the Sovereign Pontiff, by the hope of restoring peace to the church, to sanction by his benedictions your elevation to the throne; who, in return, despoiled the venerable
old

old man of all his states, dragged him into captivity, where he still groans; who was excommunicated, and are so still, for the new concordat which you have dared to publish is only a new imposture. Buonaparte has, in turn, flattered Mahometans, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, even Philosophers, by proclaiming universal tolerance; he has deceived them all: and whatever be the religious opinions of men, they must all agree in abhorring one with whom religion has never been any thing else but the mask of hypocrisy, and the engine of his infernal policy.

“ The reproach of having robbed France of Guadaloupe does not affect the Prince Royal alone, but the whole Swedish government. It is true that, according to the old law of nations established in Europe, a conquered province was never disposed of to a third power, until ceded by the original possessors at the conclusion of a peace. But Buonaparte has trodden under foot that venerable code; he has incorporated with France a number of provinces that never were ceded by their legitimate sovereigns; the kingdom of Westphalia was put together in a similar way. His own proper acts have therefore rendered void his reclamations, and England has exercised only very moderate reprisals. Sweden, on the other hand, was entitled to seize this opportunity of retaliating on Buonaparte: he had invaded Pomerania; Sweden took possession of Guadaloupe, and if, at a general peace, that power should ever consent to restore Guadaloupe, in consideration of an equivalent, this would always be a service done to France in concert with the English government.

“ By accepting Guadaloupe, Sweden wished to prove to the world that she was not afraid of Buonaparte. She early foresaw the fall of his colossal, but factitious power. Besides, what is Guadaloupe when compared with so many other important colonies, which France has lost since the rupture of the peace of Amiens? It was Buonaparte alone, who brought this loss upon himself, by his senseless obstinacy, in making war on Great Britain. No enlightened Frenchman is ignorant that the only hope which remains to France of recovering her colonies, is founded on the return of her government to principles

principles of equity and moderation in Europe, to principles which the usurper Buonaparte will never sincerely acknowledge."

The Prince Royal of Sweden is undoubtedly possessed of many qualities calculated to endear him, not only to the people he is destined hereafter to govern, but to all others who have the opportunity of approaching his person. His progress to his high station has been very unlike that of his great, but humbled master; nor can even his enemies blacken his name by the charge of any crime calculated to stain the purity of his reputation.

The following character of him is given by his intimate friend General Sarrazin, who had the best opportunity of knowing him.

"Nature has done much for Bernadotte; he is of an active make, vigorous and well-proportioned, of the height of five feet five inches (French measure), with large black eyes, his mouth agreeably set off by a smile, indicative of benevolence. His dress, formerly very simple, is now very elegant; his address prepossessing, but, if any thing, rather too easy. He is too fond of speaking; a foible which may, however, be the more readily excused, as he always speaks well. His ease and condescension in society has often been matter of wonder to those who had only seen him under arms, as he is then uncommonly strict; he requires of his officers that they should treat all those who have business to transact with them, with the greatest attention, without any distinction of rank or wealth. There was a period, when the enviers of Bernadotte, taking advantage of this kind of popularity which he had obtained, represented him to the Directory as a man dangerous to liberty; his fair proceedings having so greatly conciliated the affection of the army, and the esteem of almost all the representatives of the nation. Bernadotte cannot be better depicted than by referring to the reply made by a serjeant of grenadiers taken prisoner at the affair of Newmarkt, the day after the battle of Teiningen, to the Archduke Charles, to whom he had been conducted: on observing in him both manners and intelligence much above his rank, the Prince asked him the name of his General, and the description of his person—"He is called

called Bernadotte," replied the grenadier haughtily; "his looks to us are like an eagle's, and he has often proved to you that he has a lion's heart."

As a conclusion to this Memoir, we shall present our readers with the following letter, written by Bernadotte to his son's governor: it exhibits in a remarkable degree the virtues as well as the talents of the writer; and whilst it is calculated to afford the brightest prospects to the future hopes of Sweden, it will eminently contribute to cement that bond of attachment which is so necessary to subsist between our illustrious subject and the country over which he is destined to rule.

Letter from his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, to M. le Baron de Cederheilm.

" Stockholm, October 29, 1812.

" M. LE BARON DE CEDERHEILM—I have requested the King to appoint you governor of my son, Prince Oscar; and his Majesty has been graciously pleased to attend to my request: your merit has determined his choice.

" You are about to form the character of my son, and develope his mind: his excellent qualities will second your efforts. In attaching yourself to him, inculcate the manners and customs of the country, in short, the national character. My desire is, that his education should be entirely Swedish; and the nation will be indebted to you for all the benefits that shall result from your labours.

" I desire that you exert yourself to instil in him a habit of diligence, and that he should profit by the lessons given for his instruction.

" You will fortify in his mind the sentiments of religion, morality, a love for the laws and his country.

" You will impress on his memory the examples that the government of good kings furnish; and you will excite in his soul that ambition for true glory, which should always have for its object the desire of being useful to its fellow-creatures, and to contribute to their happiness.

" My son is of an age when impressions are received, that are preserved through life; therefore, you should endeavour to prevent him forming false ideas upon what

is termed character: firmness, which ought to be the basis of that of a prince, can never be regarded as a virtue, but when directed to a good purpose.

“ It will be easy for you to make him conceive, that his duty ought always to accord with his heart, when he shall be desirous of succouring the unfortunate; and that his benefactions should carry with them the appearance of magnanimity, and never that of ostentation or prodigality.

“ The indigent poor ought to excite the solicitude of a prince; I am desirous that my son should be convinced of this truth.

“ A prince ought neither to be accessible to fear, or suspicious; he ought not to hesitate exposing his life for the glory and prosperity of his country; he ought to judge without passion, and with that impartiality that distinguishes good sovereigns. Exert yourself, M. le Baron, to implant these principles in the heart of my son. I place him under you at a time when he has the strength to receive and preserve all ideas that may contribute to the benefit of the Swedes. Incessantly repeat to him, that one of the greatest evils with which heaven can afflict a nation, is to give it a weak prince: that the overthrow of states, civil war, and the slavery of the people, are generally the fatal results of the timidity of sovereigns: that war is of all evils the most terrible that can afflict a state, but there are circumstances where a salutary remedy exists for restoring to a nation its energy, for giving to it its ancient character, and to preserve it from the misfortune of losing its name, in becoming a province of another empire: that when a kingdom is thus threatened, and that disgrace cannot be avoided without an appeal to arms, the prince is no longer at liberty to choose; he ought to dare and to undertake every thing to maintain the independence of his country: that then is the time when the energy of his soul should be developed, and when he should be surrounded by men of courage and probity; his principal aim being to save his country, the true means of effecting it is to march against him who would oppress it.

“ You will habituate my son not to bestow his confidence on indiscreet or dissipated persons: the former will

will betray it through self-love, and the latter through venality.

“ Religion, history, geography, statistics, mathematics, penmanship, drawing, and bodily exercises, should be the basis of my son’s instruction for two years; after which, I shall request the King to permit him to pursue a different method.

“ You will instil into the mind of my son a love for religion, which produces a mild and beneficent disposition.

“ He ought to be well acquainted with the history of every nation; but, in that study, you should cause him to attend principally to their governments, their laws, and the influence they have had upon the manners and upon the welfare of the people. To the art of war the attention of my son and your exertions should be particularly directed. A prince, in these days, should be a general: we have seen the great inconvenience of a general responsible to his master being opposed to a chief who decides every thing for himself; it is therefore essential that my son should be early instructed to brave the seasons, and to exercise his powers, in order that a too sedentary life may not hereafter affect either his sight or strength. Journeys upon the mountains, in the mines, swimming, and equitation, are exercises which expand the energies of the soul; they revive warlike ideas, and present to the imagination, perils that ought always to be present, in order to become familiar. The study of geography should constantly be followed by that of statistics, and principally those of Sweden. In this respect my son ought to be minutely informed, in order that he may have a correct idea of the resources of the kingdom, and not be exposed to illusions, dangerous for the nation and himself. I am desirous that this branch of his education should not be confined to theory, as it is important that he should be thoroughly master of it: it should be impressed on his memory by travels, and by conversations with the best informed men of each state. In the provinces, the enlightened peasants and husbandmen of the cantons that he may visit will furnish him with ideas of the fertility of their soil, the nature of its productions, the price of provisions, the imposts with which their lands
are

are taxed, &c. &c. In the towns, the governors will instruct him in the general administration of their provinces, and learned civilians will constitute his society during his sojourn; their conversations will serve to give him an idea of the jurisprudence and laws of Sweden, previous to his age permitting him to devote himself to the study of law.

“ You must take advantage of the curiosity that these first instructions will excite in the mind of my son, to conduct him to every place where there may be aught to learn. You will, by these means, have a motive for his reading, before and after, whatever may relate to the affairs he beholds. When he visits vessels, he should be informed of the most celebrated naval engagements, and an expert mariner should accompany him to explain and shew the manœuvres that decide the fate of battles. When he inspects a fortress, he ought to be accompanied by a skillful engineer, who can explain to him, upon the spot, the science of fortification, and that of the attack and defence of places. He will acquire in Smith the necessary knowledge of finances and manufactures. The works of Winkelman will give him a just idea of the fine arts; and he will instruct himself in the *belles lettres* by reading the most celebrated authors.

“ The principal difficulty of education is, to direct the will of the pupil. It remains, then, to give to my son books of history, which he may have a pleasure in reading, and which he will read alone. He must give a verbal account of his readings in preference to a written one, for facility of speech is a qualification more necessary in a Prince of Sweden than any other; therefore I conceive that, for the purpose of advancing his elocution, you should invite to my son, once or twice a week, persons of whom you shall make choice, and of whose merit you shall be acquainted.

“ I wish my son to devote some time to foreign literature: he will therefrom learn to perfectly distinguish that which characterises other nations, and to discourse with foreigners upon matters that may be out of the line of the questions of a Prince.

“ It remains for me to fix the hours of study for my son, and his interior habits. He shall rise at half-past seven,

seven, to commence his lessons at eight, and continue them until ten.

“ At eleven o'clock he shall breakfast with his instructor and the gentlemen of his household; at half-past eleven, recreation, until one o'clock.

“ Two persons, chosen by you, shall be admitted to breakfast with my son, on Sundays only.

“ From one o'clock until five in the evening he shall continue his studies. At half-past five he shall repair to me, and dine at my table, on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays: the other days he shall dine at home. It is in drawing-rooms and at table, that, by degrees, we learn to know men, and penetrate their characters. The habits of company give ease and grace, and prevent that timidity so common in children privately educated, and so dangerous in a Prince, as it exposes him to be duped by the boldness of a decisive manner. In dining with me, my son will find assembled the principal men of Sweden: he will hear speak the magistrate, the skilful warrior, the profound statesman, and the indefatigable administrator; thus that society will contribute further to his instruction, without his experiencing the difficulties of study.

“ From seven until nine in the evening, my son will alternately employ his time either in paying his respects to LL. MM. or at the theatre, or at some assembly, or amongst the persons whom he has to receive once or twice a week, and of whom I have already spoken to you.

“ At ten o'clock he ought always to be in bed.

“ Thus my son will study seven hours each day: this time appears to me sufficient for his age. It remains for you, M. le Baron, to determine the nature of the studies which should occupy each hour, in conformity to what I have desired, as constituting his instruction.

“ One of the points of which I should have first spoken, is, the affectionate respect that my son ought always to have for the King. He ought never to wish, under any circumstances, aught but what his Majesty desires. All his actions should have for their end the comfort of the declining years of his Majesty; and he should constantly remember, that no repentance can
compensate

compensate for the slightest inquietude he may occasion him.

“ I seize with pleasure this opportunity, M. Le Baron de Cederheim, to renew the assurance of the sentiments you have inspired me with since I first became acquainted with you; and I pray God that he will have you in his holy and worthy keeping, and that he will bless your labours.

“ I am your very affectionate

“ CHARLES JOHN.”

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







